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ABSTRACT

Background information on higher education for blacks in South Africa and a report on the University of the North is presented. While the English language universities in South Africa have emphasized academic freedom and autonomy and have been open to nonwhite students, the Afrikaans language universities have conformed to national policy and the social order and have been closed to blacks. In 1959, legislation established universities exclusively for blacks and governed by whites, based on a policy of separate development and a belief in fundamental racial differences. The growth of black consciousness and sensitivity toward differential and discriminatory practices is considered, along with confrontations that occurred between the State and the students of the University of the North. Findings are presented of a one-person judicial Commission of Inquiry (the Snyman Commission), which investigated management issues, the causes of disturbances at the University of the North and the Black Academic Staff Association. The Commission recommended: introducing a largely black governing council and authorizing joint responsibility of blacks and whites for teaching and administrative functions, allowing students to choose among universities, and eliminating differential salaries and conditions for black and white staff. The study commission's questionnaire items and answers are presented. (SW)

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Turfloop Testimony

The dilemma of a black university in South Africa.

EDITED BY G. M. NKONDO

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THE BLACK ACADEMIC STAFF ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

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Acknowledgements

The Black Academic Staff Association of the University of the North wishes to express its grateful thanks to the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa for their generous financial assistance without which it would have been almost impossible to engage the services of Senior Counsel. We also take this opportunity to thank Ravan Press for constant encouragement and help in the publication of this book.

The BASA memorandum was presented to the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Matters relating to the University of the North through its counsel, Advocate I. Mahomed, SC, and Mr M.E. Mabiletsa, instructed by Mr G.E. Maluleka.

Introduction

THE DILEMMA OF A BLACK UNIVERSITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to 1960, universities in South Africa could be grouped broadly into two categories: the English language universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes; and the Afrikaans language universities of Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, and the Orange Free State. The University of South Africa occupied a unique position in that it was the only correspondence university, as well as the only institution of higher learning which offered tuition in both English and Afrikaans, the two official languages of South Africa.

Apart from the medium, the basic pattern of these universities was determined by two fundamentally different outlooks about the nature of the university. Inspired by belief in the ancient ideal of a university as a community of scholars and students dedicated to the service of and the search for truth, the English language universities tended to emphasise the supreme importance of *academic freedom* and *academic autonomy*. They maintained, in their belief in academic freedom, that the university should have freedom of access to all sources of knowledge and freedom to select its students on no grounds other than academic ones. They contended, in the name of academic autonomy, that the university should be free to administer its own courses, syllabuses, curricula, and examinations without reference to external authority. The Afrikaans language universities, on the other hand, held the view that the university had to be curbed and compelled to conform to national policy and the social order and that its primary aim was to serve the community in which it functioned. This is illustrated, for example, in Article 12 of the Christian-National Education Manifesto of 1948: "With regard to the national principle, we believe that the coloured man can be made race-conscious if the principle of apartheid is strictly applied in education ..."[1]

The difference in approach can be traced to the different cultural backgrounds of the respective language groups. It is significant that whilst the English language universities, true to their liberal tradition,

opened their doors even to 'non-white' students, the Afrikaans centres were 'closed' to the people of colour – apparently in defence of ethnic purity.

Of particular interest is that in this great national debate on the nature of the university, the black perspective could find no forum to state its case and had no share in political power to implement its conviction.

The first step towards the introduction of university education exclusively for the 'non-whites' was taken in 1959 with the passing of the Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959). It enabled the Minister of Bantu Education and Administration to:

> ... provide for the establishment, maintenance, management and control of university colleges for non-white persons; for the admission of students to and their instruction at university colleges; for the limitation of the admission of non-white students to certain university institutions; and for other incidental matters.

As a consequence of this Act five university colleges, affiliated to the University of South Africa, were established in 1960:

(a) University College of Western Cape (for the Coloureds);
(b) University College of Durban-Westville (for the Indians);
(c) University College of Zululand (for the Zulus);
(d) University College of the North (for the North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda national units); and
(e) University College of Fort Hare (for the Xhosas).

It should be noted that the University College of Fort Hare had been in existence since 1916, affiliated to the University of Rhodes, but that prior to 1960 it was open to all Africans no matter their ethnic origin.

The establishment of ethnic universities should be viewed against the background of the policy of 'separate development' founded, as it were, on a belief in the implacable difference betwen man and man consequent upon race. South Africa is known in the world today for occupying a unique position. "It is unique", as Prof. P.V. Tobias points out, "in that it bases its entire constitution, legislative system and practically every other phase of life on the differential treatment of different sections of its population. Rightly or wrongly, these different groups of people are spoken of as 'races', and, more recently, as 'nations' – the White, the Coloured, the Asian and eight 'Bantu' nations. Every aspect of life has come to be dominated by the

thought: to what group does *that* man belong? It is, I believe, more true of South Africa than of any other country, that race is destiny".[2]

The ethnic institutions were aimed at preparing men and women for future participation in the development of their respective ethnic communities; men and women capable of creative leadership but within their own respective ethnic compartments. The recognition of ethnic differences was regarded as *the* sober basis for the co-existence of the different peoples of South Africa. The sober basis could only be attained, official policy maintained, if South Africans were not blinded by the 'liberal illusion' that all people were identical.

The Nationalist Government was inflexible in its conviction that the 'non-whites' were too young and immature to manage their own affairs, let alone to be involved with their white compatriots in the all-too difficult machinery of responsible government. This attitude manifested itself in the composition of the governing Councils of the various ethnic colleges, as indicated in sub-sections (6) and (7) of the Act:

> 6. *Corporate status of council.* — The Council of a university college shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession, capable of suing and being sued in its own name and of performing all such acts as are necessary for or incidental to the carrying out or the performance of the powers, duties and functions conferred upon or entrusted to it under this Act or which may in terms of this Act from time to time be delegated to it by the Minister.
>
> 7. *Advisory Council.* — The advisory council of a university college shall consist of not less than eight members to be appointed by the Governor-General.

In practice Council consisted entirely of whites, appointed by the Minister of Bantu Education. The Advisory Council consisted entirely of 'non-whites', likewise appointed by the Minister. So here was created the spectacle of university institutions meant for 'non-whites' but controlled entirely by whites. Official policy stated that this dispensation was for the ultimate good of the 'non-whites', and promised that the institutions would be handed over to the communities they served as soon as these communities produced experienced and skilled personnel.

The Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) provoked a variety of significant reactions from the various sections of South African society. The English language universities regarded

it as an infringement of *academic freedom* and *autonomy*. They contended that universities should not be subjected to the flux of party politics: for the universities continued, whilst governing parties change. Further, policies change with governments, and the particular ideology of one party cannot be expected to dominate the nature and character of the university for all time. For the Afrikaans language universities the Act was a natural expression of a sound socio-political ideology. To reinforce their argument they often quoted the following phrase from a Congolese students' manifesto of 1956: 'We wish to be civilised Congolese, not black-skinned Europeans'.

The reaction of the blacks was two-fold: on the one hand, they condemned the Act as a rape of academic freedom and autonomy; on the other, they resented the paternalistic attitude of the white government as reflected in the composition of the university councils. They protested against the inferior status accorded the black man in his (so-called) institutions. All in all, they interpreted the Act as a determined perpetuation of a social and political system completely unacceptable to them as it tended to relegate them to the status of second-class citizens in the country of their own birth.

In 1969 the various university colleges were proclaimed autonomous by Acts of Parliament. But the initial pattern of power relationships between white and black in the control of affairs was not altered. They remained white-controlled black universities. They remained, also, ethnic universities integral to the overall national framework of separate development.

Sub-section (3) of the University of the North Act (No. 47 of 1969) contains this stipulation:

> 3. The University shall serve the North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda national units referred to in section 2(1) of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 (Act No. 46 of 1959).

Significantly the general two-fold reaction of the blacks found concrete and poignant expression among the students at the University of the North. In 1970 the SRC organised a boycott of the investiture of the chancellor, and took the opportunity to focus attention on the paradoxical nature of the university. It was their contention that if the university belonged to blacks, it had to bear the stamp of black authority; and further, that if the university was meant to reflect and enhance the black experience, the range of courses

offered should, wherever possible, contain a large component of the black perspective.

In particular they suggested a reversal of roles at the level of University government: Council to be manned by blacks, and whites to take their appropriate place on Advisory Council.

It was about this time that black students in the whole country came together to form the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). Its membership was to be exclusively black because they maintained that in South Africa one was either 'part of the solution or part of the problem'; and that the whites had defined themselves, in all the years of their political supremacy, 'as part of the problem'. It is interesting to note that at this stage SASO received the blessings of the governing Councils on all the black campuses. It is not unlikely that the Councils saw in SASO a confirmation of the ideology of separate development, particularly that black students had become disenchanted with the multi-racial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) as an effective forum to express their grievances and fulfil their aspirations. NUSAS essentially was, and still is, an English language university affair, liberal in its outlook, but predominantly white.

Again it was about this time that Black Consciousness began to make its impact on both student and parent. Since the inception of the University in 1960, black and white staff members of the University of the North belonged to the same staff association. But in 1971 there was a growing feeling amongst the black staff, that because of the differential treatment of black and white staff at the University, they could bargain more effectively in a separate staff association. In 1972 this feeling crystalized into a conviction; consequently they applied for the recognition by Council of what came to be known as the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA). Formal recognition by Council was received early in 1973.

It was in the context of growing Black Consciousness and heightened black sensitivity towards differential and discriminatory practices in the country as a whole and in the black universities in particular, that Abraham Tiro, representing the graduands, made his historic speech at the Graduation Ceremony at the University of the North in 1972. The speech focussed attention once more on the paradoxical nature of the university in which power and authority resided in white hands, the blacks occupying advisory and token positions. It drew fire from the university authorities and Tiro was

expelled; the reason given for the expulsion was that Tiro chose a wrong occasion to give the type of speech he gave, and so embarrassed the authorities. (We comment on the implications of the expulsion in our memorandum.)

Protesting against Tiro's expulsion as a flagrant violation of freedom of speech, students at the University of the North 'walked-out'. This was followed by a series of unrests on other black campuses.

At an extraordinary meeting of the Council of the University of the North held in Pretoria on 15 May, 1972, the Council resolved that a Committee of Inquiry be appointed from its own members, but including two members of the (black) Advisory Council to investigate the fundamental causes of the student unrest at the University. (A similar Committee was appointed to investigate the causes of the unrest at the University of Fort Hare). The Committee's terms of reference were:

> ... to investigate the underlying fundamental causes of student unrest at the University of the North and to report on the steps necessary to be taken in the future to avoid situations of a similar nature.

The Committee summarised the main cause of the unrest in these terms:

> The fundamental cause of student unrest is of a political nature. The other causes that the Committee found are of lesser importance. Student politics and views are entirely unrealistic. They are influenced by outside bodies, thoughts and philosophies and their parents themselves, in exploiting real or imaginary grievances arising from the South African political situation. Students who have political aspirations should not seek to use the campus as a platform for the expression of thoughts on matters that are in any case out of bounds of their activities. The political situation and the future role of the student in his own Homeland should be conveyed to students by the lecturing staff, especially the black staff. The students are preparing themselves for a career with the assistance of the South African Government. Everything must therefore be done to achieve this aim. This matter must be given deep thought by all who are concerned with the education of the black student.

In the same investigation, the Committee found that black awareness was to be found in many fields: black theology, black theatre and cinema, in black sociology and history, in fact in all spheres of black experience. It discovered that in terms of black awareness 'everything must have relevance to the black community', and came to realise that 'this awareness is supported and assisted by many'. It accordingly recommended as follows:

> Note must be taken of this movement of black awareness which at this stage does not seem to be adequately organised due to a lack of leaders. This black awareness will increase and if understood could be guided into channels to the advantage of everybody in South Africa.

Its findings on the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) are of particular significance:

> The South African Students' Organisation has the support of the black community. Nothing could therefore be achieved by banning this organisation from the campus. An attempt must be made to sublimate its efforts of organising students activity.

To emphasise, on the one hand, that the black student must be taught to accept the Homelands, which are based on ethnicity, and to recommend, on the other, the promotion of black consciousness because of its pervasive influence and its tremendous potential for good is to suggest, albeit unwittingly, an underlying paradox and to expose the dilemma of a black university in South Africa.

The dilemma became starkly distinct in 1974, when *Frelimo* became the provisional Government in Mozambique on 25 September, prior to the attainment of full independence, thus marking the end of a bloody revolution and four centuries of Portuguese rule. To celebrate the end of violence and colonial rule, the Students' Representative Council organised a rally on the same day. The students saw in the Frelimo triumph the affirmation, in political terms, of Black Consciousness and the confirmation of black identity in the continent of their birth.

Here were students in an ethnic university asserting over-riding black values which were incompatible with the ethos of the policy of separate ethnic development. The confrontation that ensued between the State and the students at the University of the North and elsewhere in South Africa, seems to have been inevitable. In spite of the banning order imposed on pro-Frelimo rallies in the country as a

whole, the students at Turfloop insisted on their right to hold such a rally. Consequently the University of the North, itself a function of government policy, was turned into a field of conflicting forces. Police were called on to the campus, scuffles took place and the atmosphere was very tense.

On 1st November 1974, the State President appointed a one-man judicial Commission of Inquiry (known as the Snyman Commission after Mr Justice J.H. Snyman, its only member):

> I.To inquire into and report on:-
>
> (1) the events of 25 September 1974 on the campus of the University of the North with the view to determining the causes that gave rise thereto and the part played therein by the University Management, the Students Representative Council and any other organization of either the students or the lecturers, with specific attention to
>
> (a)the relationship on the campus between the black and white academic staff and the students; and
>
> (b)related matters concerning the present and future management of the university, including possible interference therein by the Black Academic Staff Association;
>
> (2) to make recommendations in the view of the findings, which the Commission deems necessary.

The Black Academic Staff Association was to be investigated, apparently, because it maintained, on the strength of first-hand evidence of several of its members, that it was the police who generated the violence on the day of the rally and expressed this view in the national press.

The Commission discovered that the pro-Frelimo rally was just a symptom of a vast and complex malady, and that the University of the North was 'ensnared in a much broader and deeper problem than just a university situation, namely the situation between white and black outside the University'. It found out that there was much anti-white feeling among students and black staff, and suggested that the underlying causes had to be examined 'in the light of the ideology of Black Consciousness which has taken root among the nations of the world in the past few decades'. It further suggested that:

> ... this attitude is aggravated in the black community by statutory and traditional restrictions which have been

> imposed on the blacks mainly in the interests of the whites, and the often unpleasant personal experiences blacks, especially the urbanised, westernised and sophisticated blacks, have had in encounters with many whites in the streets, in shops and in other public places, which impair their human dignity. It is especially the humiliating behaviour of whites outside campus towards the blacks of the University of the North which has repercussions on the campus and frustrates the well-meaning attempts of the University authorities and the white staff to create healthy relations on the campus, and furthermore gives rise to an abhorrence of the policy of separate development in the blacks.

Equally important was the finding that the black student at the University of the North rejected the University which he saw as a product of separate development; that he was dissatisfied because he was compelled to attend the university established for his population group, because he rejected ethnic grouping as seen and enforced by whites. The black student did not reject his language or traditions, but he did not see himself as part of a separate nation but as belonging to a 'family' in a wider context.

The Commission examined in depth the need for a black take-over of the University. It considered such a move of very vital importance because the blacks of the University of the North felt that the whites continually took decisions for or on their behalf without their having any meaningful say in the determination of their future. This tended to derogate from their dignity and alienate them from the institution meant to serve their communities. Finally, the Commission acknowledged the fact that:

> As long as the University is not accepted by its people as its own it cannot play a fruitful role in the community. That is why the transfer of control should not be deferred longer than necessary ...

The major recommendations of the Commission can be summarised in these terms: the Commission visualised a university controlled by a council with a majority of blacks, designated by the Homeland Governments concerned, while the teaching and administrative functions would be the joint responsibility of the whites and the blacks; that existing legislation be amended in order that, as in the case of the universities for whites, the University would clearly

be seen to be an autonomous institution; that because the majority of students rejected ethnic grouping as seen by whites, a sense of pride in their university could be instilled to some extent if the students no longer felt compelled to attend a certain university and at least had a choice of universities; and that differential treatment of black and white staff in respect of remuneration and conditions of service be eliminated forthwith.[1]

The Black Academic Staff Association presented a full argument to the commissioner, for it maintained that as an association of black academics it carried a certain authority and a certain responsibility to give the University of the North and the country as a whole the benefit of its understanding of the problems of higher education for blacks in South Africa. It is pleased to note that a substantial portion of its arguments and recommendations found favour with the commissioner and that its stand on various matters had been vindicated.

The recommendations made by the learned judge, in the submission of the Black Academic Staff Association, represent the very minimum that is urgently necessary in order to bring about vital reform at the university. Regardless of what statutory or procedural formalities must be followed to give effect to these minimum reforms, there should be an immediate commitment by the Central Government and University authorities to take all steps to enshrine these reforms. Such a commitment should be made unequivocally, urgently and publicly if the University is to avoid disruptions it has hitherto suffered and which the Black Academic Staff Association has so vigorously warned against.

The finding of the Commission that the problems at the University of the North cannot be isolated from the general discrimination and humiliation suffered by black people outside the University is in the opinion of the Black Academic Staff Association a profound truth which can only be ignored by our country at its own peril.[4]

G.M. NKONDO
Chairman, Black Academic Staff Association.

1 Cited in *Education Beyond Apartheid*, Spro-cas (Ravan Press), Johannesburg, 1971, p 86.
2 *The Meaning of Race*, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972, p 1.
3 In a significant move, it was announced in mid-1976 that Professor W. Kgware would become the first black principal of the University.
4 For a fuller account of the Snyman Report, as well as of the "Jackson Report", see *Turmoil at Turfloop*, ed. J.G.F. Wolfson, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1976.

TO: THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE SNYMAN

IN RE: COMMISSION OF INQUIRY CONCERNING CERTAIN MATTERS RELATING TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

MEMORANDUM

1. This Memorandum is prepared on behalf of the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA). It is to be read together with the Questionnaire prepared on behalf of the Association. The answers to the Questionnaire generally appear in the Questionnaire itself, save in those cases where it is considered expedient to qualify, elaborate or explain the particular answer concerned. In cases where such qualification, elaboration or explanation is required, the relevant answer will be found in this Memorandum, and a note will be contained in the Questionnaire to that effect, which will draw attention to the elaboration contained in the Memorandum.

Editor's note: The first section of the Questionnaire requests background particulars, which are supplied in the following replies.

2. Ad Paragraph 1.1 of the Questionnaire

The Questionnaire requires the full names of the person who replies to the Questionnaire.

In the present case it is a body of persons which replies to the Questionnaire, namely BASA. This body consists of the African academic staff attached to the University of the North. The names, capacities and qualifications of these persons are as follows:

1. Mr G.M. Nkondo, Chairman, Senior Lecturer, M.A. (S.A.), M.A. (Leeds).
2. Mr S.R. Motshologane, Vice Chairman, Lecturer, M.A. (Unin).
3. Mr A.K. Msimeki, Secretary, Lecturer, M.A. (Unin).
4. Mr W.S. Tladi, Treasurer, Lecturer, B.Com(Hons.) Fort Hare.
5. Mr M. Bopape, Chairman of Social Services Committee, M.A.(Social Science) (S.A.), M.Social Work (Pittsburg).
6. Prof. W.M. Kgware, D.Ed. (S.A.).
7. Prof. E.P. Lekhela, D.Ed. (S.A.).
8. Prof. M.E.R. Mathivha, D.Litt. (Unin).
9. Prof. P.F. Mohanoe, M.Ed. (Ottawa), D.Ed. (S.A.).
10. Mr I.O.H.M. Mapena, M.A. (S.A.), (now Professor).
11. Mr M.C. Mphahlele, Senior Lecturer, M.Ed. (Unin).
12. Mr S.P. Manaka, University Librarian, M.A. (S.A.), (Library Science).

13. Mr A.I. Mawasha, Senior Lecturer, M.Ed. (Unin), M.A. (Illinois).
14. Mr H.C. Rhenoster, Senior Lecturer, M.Ed. (Unin).
15. Mr J.E. Setshedi, Lecturer, M.A. (Unin).
16. Mrs C.P. Nkondo, Lecturer, M.A. (Unin).
17. Mr M.P. Malulyck, Lecturer, Hons. B.Sc. (Rhodes), B.Ed. (Unin).
18. Mr S.P. Mashike, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (S.A.).
19. Mr I.G.G. Mashaba, Lecturer, Hons.B.A. (S.A.).
20. Mr A.P.P. Mokwele, Lecturer, B.Ed. (S.A.).
21. Mr A.O. Makwela, Lecturer, B.A. (Hons.) (Unin).
22. Mr P.H.D. Mashaba, Lecturer, B.A. (Hons.) (Unin).
23. Mr. J.T. Makhado, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
24. Mr A.M. Moleleki, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
25. Mr R.M. Malope, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
26. Mr G.S. Mayevu, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin), B.Ed. (S.A.).
27. Mr R.M. Leseme, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
28. Mr N.I. Dlomo, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
29. Mr I.I. Ishcole, Lecturer, Hons. B.Sc. (Unin).
30. Mr S.N. Hakula, Lecturer, Hons. B.Sc. (Unin).
31. Mr T.M. Kambule, Lecturer, Hons. B.Sc. (Unin).
32. Mr M.N.S. Sithole, Lecturer, LL.B. (Unin).
33. Mr P. Chabane, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
34. Miss L.D.M. Makgopela, Lecturer, B.A. (S.A.), M.Sc. (Connecticut).
35. Mr S.S. Ripinga, Lecturer, B.Ed. (S.A.).
36. Mr T.P. Mathivha, Junior Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
37. Mr N.A. Ntwampe, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
38. Mrs G.K. Motshologane, Assistant Librarian, B.A. (S.A.), Higher Diploma in Library Science (S.A.).
39. Mrs M.S. Magele, Junior Lecturer, B.A. (Hons), (Unin).
40. Mrs A. Kambule, Assistant Librarian, B. Biblio. (Zululand).
41. Mr D.P. Phiri, Junior Lecturer, B.A. (S.A.).
42. Mr A.E. Ndlovu, Senior Laboratory Assistant, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
43. Mr S.M. Ndlela, Laboratory Assistant
44. Mr S.N. Mashego, Senior Laboratory Assistant, Hons. B.Sc. (Unin).
45. Mr I.V. Mkhize, Laboratory Assistant.
46. Mr R.J. Khoza, Research Officer, B.A. (Unin).
47. Mr D. Phalatse, Senior Laboratory Assistant, B.Sc. (Unin).
48. Mr Z.B. Hlongwane, Junior Lecturer, B.Sc. (Unin), U.Ed. (Unin).
49. Mr K.E. Maduane, Lecturer, B.Ed. (Unin).
50. Mrs B.M. Leseme, Lecturer, Hons. B.A. (Unin).
51. Mr H.M. Ramokgopa, Senior Laboratory Assistant, B.Ed. (Unin).
52. Mr J.M. Mogashoa, Professional Assistant, B.Ed. (Unin).

2.(A) Ad Paragraph 1.2 of the Questionnaire

BASA consists of different members with different status. The relevant status of the particular member appears in Paragraph 1.1 above.

3. Ad Paragraph 1.4 of the Questionnaire

The relevant academic qualifications of each of the lecturers concerned and the institution at which these were obtained appears from Paragraph 1.1 above.

4. Ad Paragraph 1.8 of the Questionnaire

The different lecturers concerned address students in different years of study, depending on their own qualifications and depending on the circumstances of each department.

Section 2 deals with student-lecturer relations, and the first two questions are as follows:

2.1 Would you say that students are in general interested in the study material as presented to them by you?

	Yes	No	N A
First year students	X		
Second year students	X		
Third year students	X		
Other senior students	X		

2.2 Would you say that students in general conform to the requirements normally set to University students (as regards the ability to study independently, to do research, sense of responsibility, motivation and interest).

	Yes	No	Uncertain	N A
First year students	X			
Second year students	X			
Third year students	X			
Other senior students	X			

If you answer is negative or uncertain, arrange the following possible causes in order of priority in respect of each of the year groups, where applicable:

A. The socio-economic circumstances of the Black community, e.g. inadequate school background, domestic circumstances, etc.
B. Too lenient academic requirements for admission to the University.
C. Insufficient attention given to study problems guidance to students, etc.
D. Contents of courses not sufficiently relevant to possible future occupations.
E. Rules and discipline not strict enough at the University.
F. Contents of the courses not sufficiently relevant to the actual current problems of the Black population.
G. Tension in your relationships with your students.
H. Any other possible causes which you may regard important in this respect.

Although students in general do conform to the requirements normally set for University students there are certain factors which impede the most effective instruction, which will be dealt with more fully in the answers to other questions in this Questionnaire.

5. Ad Paragraph 2.3 of the Questionnaire

Would you agree with the proposition that the Black student's pre-occupation with politics is the main cause of his inability to profit from university education? If you agree, what is in your opinion the reason for this state of affairs?

It would seem that this question assumes the Black students' inability to profit from University education, and on the basis of this assumption it suggests the reasons for this. With respect, we are unable to agree with this assumption. It is not correct to assume that the Black student is unable to profit from University education. There is no scientific basis for the conclusion that he is unable to profit from University education any more than any other group of students. The history of higher education in the Black community also does not support the proposition that the Black student is unable to profit from University education. More specifically in relation to the University of the North, the results achieved by the students do not in any way corroborate the statement that the Black student has not benefited from University education. In order to test this proposition, a random survey was made of results achieved in different courses offered by the University of the North, and this was compared with the results acnieved in corresponding courses offered at the University of the Witwatersrand in the same academic year. The comparison which appears below does not in any way justify the belief that the Black student has been unable to profit from University education.

Course	Percentage of passes, University of the North (1973)	Percentage of passes, University of the Witwatersrand (1973)
Afrikaans and Netherlands I	61%	61%
Southern Sotho I	77%	91%
Biblical Studies I	66%	64%
English I	42%	55%
German I A	100%	100%
Greek I	75%	79%
Hebrew I	83%	94%
History I	47%	60%
Latin I	71%	47%
Philosophy I	96%	69%
Phonetics and Linguistics I	74%	77%
Political Science I	71%	56%
Psychology I	53%	85%
Social Anthropology I	73%	64%
Sociology I	54%	65%

Whilst there is accordingly no evidence to support the proposition that the Black student is unable to benefit from University education, it is not intended to create the impression that the Black student is satisfied with the state of affairs at the University or that there are no factors which impede his ability to make the maximum use of his potential and the facilities offered at the University. On the contrary, as will appear later in this Memorandum, it is submitted that there are in fact very important areas where radical reform is necessary in order to ensure that the potential of each student is realized to its maximum capacity. These areas concern, *inter alia:*

(a) The control and administration of the University;
(b) Problems relating to the Africanization of the academic and administrative staff;
(c) The attitude and outlook of some of the members of the academic staff;
(d) The quality of the facilities available at the University.

It is also not intended to suggest by the aforegoing analysis that the students at the University do not have a deep interest and concern in politics. The overwhelming majority of the Black students have very deep-seated political grievances, and particularly resent the fact that some of their disabilities as Black men are extended and reflected in the administration and control of the University and in the attitudes of some of the persons who man the University. The Black students deeply resent the fact, for example, that in a University for Black persons the control of the administration is still firmly in White hands, and that discriminating scales of salary and discriminating conditions of employment based on race have been institutionalized at the University. As will again appear later, the majority of the students are of the view that the White academic staff, consisting mainly of Afrikaans-speaking persons from Afrikaans-speaking universities, do not sufficiently understand the aspirations of the Black man, and generally behave and express themselves in a manner which is seldom hostile, but usually patronising.

It is respectively submitted that hardly any university exists in the world in which the students do not hold very strong and often passionate political convictions. Indeed, it has been said with justification that a community which produces students who are politically apathetic, lacks the idealistic impulse which is essential for the progress of society. In South Africa itself, students at the older universities have at different times expressed themselves forcefully in

regard to political matters. Afrikaner nationalism found very strong and active support at the Afrikaans universities even in times of war, and more liberalistic expressions of political opinion have come to characterize the student bodies of the English-speaking universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town. There is no reason to expect that students at the University of the North should behave differently or that they must be discouraged in the expression of their idealism. Regard being had to the present state of evolution of South Africa's political history, it must be expected that the students of a Black university will come to hold strong political convictions. It is respectfully submitted that it would be quite futile to attempt to plan the administration of the University in a manner which will stifle such activity. Expressions of political idealism are inherent in a modern university. The administrators of a university are entitled only to require that such expressions are not unlawful, and that academic achievement and performance is not unreasonably impeded. The correctness of both these propositions is accepted as being common cause.

Questions 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 appear as follows:

2.4 Would you say that there are sufficient opportunities for students frankly to discuss from their point of view, their academic problems with you?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Opportunity	X		
Frankness		X	

2.5 How frequently do students of their own accord discuss their work with you? (Necessary discussions in respect of practical work, seminars, etc., should not be taken into consideration):

Daily		Seldom	X
Weekly		Never	

2.6 Would you regard it necessary to obtain a better knowledge and understanding of your students as individuals?

Yes [X] No [ ]

Please motivate your answer.

5. (A) Ad Paragraph 2.6 of the Questionnaire

It is respectfully submitted that an intimate knowledge and understanding of the students as individuals is crucial to the success of the University. It is also submitted with regret that such understanding is

often lacking. Any attempt to understand the students of the University individually must take account, *inter alia*, of the following factors:

(a) A university student anywhere displays the qualities of intellectual curiosity and idealism. His search for perfection is necessarily more optimistic and passionate, his curiosity much more uncompromising.

(b) In the case of a Black student at a Black university, these qualities are accentuated. The Black student questions the fundamental assumptions of his society. He questions the reasons for his disabilities and comes to feel strongly about the redress of his grievances.

(c) On an abstract and theoretical plane the Black student has come to question the very meaning of being Black. He rebels against the concept of being "non-white", because such a concept implies to him that what is White is normal, good and correct, and the extent of a man's worth is the extent to which he approximates to being White. The Black student has come to feel that he is not merely a negative "non-white", but positively a Black. This implies that it is not necessary for him to define himself in relation to somebody else ("non-white"). It is an affirmation that being Black is a positive and autonomous quality. This attitude of mind gives birth to the concept of "Black consciousness", which does not imply being anti-White. Black consciousness stands for the sum total of values native to Africans. It draws sustenance from its own history and genius, the capacity of its civilization to ensure reciprocity, sharing and love among its members and its instinctive rejection of an aggressive individualism which so often characterizes the more extreme strata of Western technological civilizations. It is respectfully submitted that these attitudes are constructive and desirable attitudes, and instead of being discouraged or feared, should be welcomed as an essential basis for a Black renaissance in a modern world. This was in fact appreciated in the report of the Committee of Inquiry into student unrest in the University of the North, wherein the following finding and recommendation appears:

> *Finding: The Committee finds the Black awareness is to be found in many fields, Black theology, Black theatre, Black cinema, Black history and Black sociology, being Black, orientation based on Black experience. Everything*

must have relevance to the Black community. This awareness is supported and assisted by many.

Recommendation: Note must be taken of this movement of Black awareness which at this stage does not seem to be adequately organised due to a lack of leaders. This Black awareness will increase and if understood could be guided into channels to the advantage of everybody in South Africa.

(d) Apart from the theoretical plane, the Black students of the University have serious practical problems. The economic structure of the Black community in South Africa is such that only an infinitesimal percentage of African children who enter school are ever able to matriculate. Of these, a very small percentage obtain admission to a university, and the continuation of their studies often involves their families in grave economical sacrifice. The parents of these students are usually persons of very modest economic means, and the cost of primary and secondary education is usually a burden too great for the vast majority of these families to sustain. The Black student must therefore skimp and save on the most meagre of budgets, and use all available spare time to supplement the provisions of his family. Textbooks and instruments cannot easily be afforded, transport from the home to the University and back is a costly luxury, hostel and University fees, however fair and reasonable they might be in relation to the total cost of the administration of the University, make serious inroads on the budget of the average African student and his ability to continue his course. These are special problems which make the task of understanding the complexities of student life at a Black university infinitely more complex than that of the student at a White university.

(e) At the University itself the Black student encounters special problems. He is deeply conscious of the often sharp conflict between the idealistic and objective academic truths which he imbibes at the University, and the harsh truth of the arena outside the small physical campus. The dignity of the academic status he enjoys does not rescue him from the perpetual insecurity and fear of living in a home in a township where there is no security of tenure, or of visiting a town where his right to remain is confined to a period of 72 hours, in terms of the Urban Areas Act. The grandeur of political ideas and universalistic thought which he is taught in the academic classes contrast sharply with his political impotence in a vast sprawling city like Soweto.

These conflicts and frustrations are deep and jarring, and form a very important part of the picture which it is necessary to appreciate in order to understand the Black student as an individual.

(f) At the University itself the Black student has other problems. He often endures the patronising sympathy of White lecturers and staff whose political background and socio-economic status do not always qualify them to understand the deepest aspirations and frustrations of the Black students. He finds a greater affinity with the Black academic staff, who understand his background and are sympathetic to his own aspirations. This empathy, however, makes him deeply resent the fact that the Black academic staff are paid lower salaries, are subject to less favourable conditions of employment and afforded less comfortable housing amenities than their White counterparts with equivalent qualifications. He resents also the fact that in an area intended for a Black homeland at a university for Blacks, the administration of the University and its control are still in the hands of Whites. To him all this appears to constitute an institutionalized extension of his inferior legal status outside the homelands. In this mood he is unable to respond to the academic opportunities presented at the University with the full and maximum force his potential allows. It is respectfully submitted that these fundamental causes of his unhappiness must be eliminated in order to ensure the maximum development of his own potential and of the University as an institution of higher learning.

2.7 Would you regard it important that lecturers should occasionally have spontaneous and openhearted discussions with students on current affairs (not necessarily falling within the context of their subjects), such as politics, economics, religion, etc.?

Yes [X] No [ ]

If your answer is in the affirmative, do you occasionally provide the opportunity for such discussions?

Yes [X] No [ ]

2.8 If your answers to 2.7 are in the negative, give reasons:

Not Applicable

2.9 Would you say that the lines of communication between students and the administration (Rector included) at your University are adequate and open?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If your answer is in the negative, what should, in your opinion, be done to improve the situation?

6. Ad Paragraph 2.9 of the Questionnaire

The question in this paragraph is whether the lines of communication between students and the administration are adequate and open. In truth this embraces two questions: first, whether the lines of communication are adequate, and secondly, whether they are open.

It is conceded that the formal lines of communication between the students and the administration are adequate.

The students, through the Students' Representative Council, have access to the Rector, and the students aiso have access to the Senate.

The question which arises is whether these lines of communication are open. The general feeling among the students is that such lines of communication are not open in the sense of being uninhibited.

> The view of the students appears to be that uninhibited communication between the students and the administration postulates the ability of the administration to understand the aspirations and motivations of the students. The students feel that the White-controlled administration is unable to understand such aspirations and motivations. The Black students feel the necessity of expressing the dignity of being Black. They feel that university education is a right and not a favour. They consider their education part of the evolution of their nationalism. The White administration, on the other hand, consists largely of Afrikaans-speaking persons, believed to be adherents of Afrikaner nationalism. There is nothing wrong about Afrikaner nationalism in the context of an Afrikaans institution. The Black students believe, however, that it is incongruous at a Black university. Adherents of Afrikaner nationalism at a Black university tend to be patronising and charitable towards Black students, because they often see themselves as missionaries, doing some kind of charitable work. Clearly, there is a basic lack of intellectual and emotional agreement in the two approaches, and students do not feel free to have uninhibited communication with the White administration.

If the White administration believes that it is performing some kind of sacrifice in order to assist the Blacks, it is understandable that some of its members would resent criticism of their conduct. Such criticism is often construed as ingratitude on the part of the Black students. The attitude of the Black students is that neither the University nor the State nor anybody else connected with the administration of the University is immune from legitimate criticism. It is respectfully submitted that this view of the students is in accord with the classical concept of a university, whose fundamental loyalty lies to the truth. Both the majority and minority reports of the Commission of Inquiry into universities under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. Justice van Wyk de Vries are agreed on this. (See *Report*, page 105).

In any event, the Black students have repeatedly expressed the view that they do not feel completely free in the expression of their views to the administration, and they have formed the impression that any strong criticism of the University will not be kindly received. Support for this fear is provided by the University's reaction to a speech made by the then ex-President of the S.R.C., Mr Abraham Tiro, at the graduation ceremony of the University in 1972. In this speech, a copy of which is annexed to this Memorandum, Abraham (O.R.) Tiro started off by quoting the Prime Minister to the effect that no Black man had landed in trouble for fighting for what was legally his. He then went on to criticise the fact that the administration of the University was White and that Blacks were discriminated against at the University itself. He was critical of the fact that at a Black university, the bookshop was run by Whites, and that a contract to supply meat to the University was given to a White person. He went on to state that in his view it was wrong that White students instead of Black students were given vacation jobs at the University, and also criticised the fact that there was not enough accommodation in the Hall for all Black parents who had come to watch their children graduate. He then went on to make a few comments about the debate between integration and separation, and ended by making an appeal for Black unity. He said that this was a preparatory stage and the task was to prepare for 10, 15 and 40 years.

It is respectfully submitted that the type of criticism made by

Mr Tiro at the graduation ceremony is perfectly lawful and by no means unprecedented. South Africa has certainly been treated to addresses by Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors on some graduation days, gravely critical of the policies of the Government of the day. The reaction of the authorities to Mr Tiro's speech however was to expel him from the University, and the expressions of solidarity by the remainder of the student body with Mr Tiro provoked a crisis of such dimensions as to lead to the closure of several of the Black universities for some time. It is respectfully submitted that this episode showed an over-sensitivity and over-reaction on the part of the White administration of the University. It unnecessarily inhibits the freer expression of opinion by members of the student body, derogates from the authenticity of the overt communication on a formal level between the students and the administration and creates the germs of a situation in which communication is so tenuous that it tends to collapse as soon as it is seriously tested. The correct approach, it is submitted, is to accept freely and courageously the consequences of free debate and criticism in an institution of higher learning. Such an approach will add dignity to the institution itself, and ensure the effective exploitation of the formal channels of communication between all levels in the University.

2.10 Would you say that there is scope for the improvement of student-lecturer relationships?

Yes [X] No [ ]

2.11 How would you evaluate the following relationships at your University?

	Excellent	Satisfactorily	Bad
(a) Black lecturers and the students		X	
(b) White lecturers and the students			X
(c) the Rector and the students			X
(d) the Registrar and the students			X
(e) the Black administrative staff and the students		X	
(f) White administrative staff and the students			X

If you are of the opinion that the relationships are bad, who, in your opinion, are the people responsible for the state of affairs, what are the causative factors and how should the situation be improved?

7. Ad Paragraph 2.11 of the Questionnaire

It will be noticed from the answers given to sub-paragraphs (a) to (f)

of Paragraph 2.11 in the Questionnaire that relationships between the students and Black lecturers and administrative staff are generally satisfactory, whereas the relationships between students and the White administration and the White academic staff are generally considered to be bad. The reasons for this have been set out before in this Memorandum, and consist, *inter alia*, of the following:

(a) The fact that the White administrative staff and White lecturers do not properly understand the aspirations and problems of the Black students.

(b) The fact that the White lecturers and administrative staff generally have a patronising attitude towards the Blacks, and share usually a political outlook which is incongruous in the context of a Black university. This is illustrated by a remark once made by the Rector to the effect that the Black universities were the White man's great gift to the Blacks. However *bona fide* this view was or is held, it fails to accord with the approach and outlook of the Black students and the Black academic staff to the problem. On the other hand, it must not be assumed that the attitudes of the White lecturers described above prevail without exception. A Mr Gatter, who was formerly a junior lecturer in the Department of Physics, displayed no patronising or missionary spirit in his tenure at the University. He enjoyed an easy-going relationship with the Black staff, and earned the confidence and respect of the students whom he taught. Two other persons who are still on the staff give the same impression of natural-easy-going relationships without any obvious paternalistic element. The one is a Mr Mike Rice in the Department of English, and the other is a Professor Sinclair of the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands.

(c) The general resentment felt by the body of Black students about the control of a Black institution of higher learning by an overwhelming preponderance of Whites, also bedevils and impedes the formation and pursuit of harmonious relationships.

8. Ad Paragraph 2.12 of the Questionnaire

It is sometimes alleged that the Black lecturers sided with students against the White lecturers and other White officials. Do you agree? Give your reasons and, if possible, indicate the facts on which they are based.

If the proposition is that the Black lecturers "gang up" against the White lecturers without any good cause, regardless of the issue, and

merely because the White lecturers and officials are White, then the proposition is denied. Evidence has already been led before the Commission to the effect that on the 25th September, 1974 the Black lecturers attempted to discourage the students from any violent confrontation and thereafter assiduously co-operated with the Rector in attempting to persuade the students to suspend their "sit-ins" and to resume the attendance of lectures. There have also been other occasions when the Black lecturers have had cause to persuade the students to desist from a planned course of conduct, and in the result there have often been times when the Black lecturers themselves have been the object of criticism from the students, and when they have come to be considered part of an unjust administration at the University.

Notwithstanding the aforegoing, it is perfectly correct that there have been occasions when the Black lecturers found themselves in sympathy with the students in respect of various grievances deeply felt by the students. This may be illustrated by various examples, but it is important to bear in mind that the stand of the Black lecturers on such occasions was not against the White lecturers because they were White, but because it appeared to the Black lecturers that the attitude of the students on the particular occasion was justifiable on merit.

(a) Thus, while the Black lecturers advised against confrontation on the 25th September, 1974 and whilst they discouraged the continuation of the "sit-ins" thereafter and of the further attempt by the students to lead a march to the local police station, they were nevertheless of the *bona fide* view that a meeting called by the S.R.C. on the 25th September, 1974 was not unlawful and did not fall within the terms of the Ministerial prohibition.

(b) The Black staff also found itself on the side of the students in demands made by the students to the University administration for a greater degree of Africanization in the University administration.

(c) There have been other occasions when the various members of the Black staff defended the right of the students to express themselves critically in regard to various matters not irrelevant to the administration of the University. It would seem that in this regard there is a divergence of approach as to what the duty of the University should be in any matter where the students are

in disagreement with the administration. At a symposium of Black and White academic staff on University didactics, Professor Engelbrecht, of the Department of Philosophy, pertinently questioned the stance of the Black staff in maintaining an attitude of neutrality with regard to disagreements which had arisen between the students and the administration. This approach suggests that in any such disagreement the duty of the staff is to be on the side of the administration. The Black Academic Staff Association does not agree with this approach. Its approach is that disagreement and legitimate criticism are inherent in the democracy of a university; that the right to disagree is as fundamental to the institution of a university democracy as the right to agree; that the defence of such a right involves no disloyalty to the administration, and that it would be indeed disloyal to the true functions of a proper university for the academic staff to behave in a manner which stifles disagreement and criticism, and equates such criticism with disloyalty. The relevant question which BASA asks in any given situation is not who is disagreeing with whom, but who is right. Even where it is satisfied that a particular party is wrong, it would still defend the right of that party to assert its views.

9. Ad Paragraph 2.13 of the Questionaire

Do you participate in any extra-mural student activities? (e.g. sport, associations, etc.)

Yes [X] No [ ]

If your answer is in the affirmative, please mention the activities.

The Black lecturers participate in almost all extra-mural student activity. The Chairman of the Association, for example, is a patron of the Chess Club, the Drama Club and the Literary Society. There are no White lecturers active in any of these student organizations. They showed no interest in these organizations for many years. Later when an attempt was made to show interest, they were not always welcome, because in the meanwhile the students had formed the impression that, for the reasons stated, they were not sympathetic to African aspirations and were patronising.

10. Ad Paragraph 3.1 of the Questionnaire

How would you evaulate the following relationships at your University?

	Excellent	Satisfactorily	Bad
(a) Black and White lecturers			X
(b) Black lecturers and the Rector			X
(c) White lecturers and the Rector			
(d) Black lecturers and the Registrar			X
(e) White lecturers and the Registrar			
(f) Black administrative staff and the Rector			X
(g) White administrative staff and the Rector			
(h) Black administrative staff and the Registrar			X
(i) White administrative staff and the Registrar			
(j) Black administrative staff and the Black lecturers		X	
(k) Black administrative staff and the White lecturers			X
(l) White administrative staff and the Black lecturers			X
(m) White administrative staff and the White lecturers			

If you are of the opinion that the relationships specified above are unsatisfactory, who, in your opinion, are the people responsible for the state of affairs, what are the causative factors, and how should the situation be improved? (Indicate whether race prejudice plays any part).

It will again be observed from the answers given in the Questionnaire itself that relations between Black and Black are considered to be satisfactory, but relations between Black and White are not considered to be as satisfactory. (The word "Bad" in column 3 might in some cases be too strong, and it might have been better to have described some of the relationships as being unsatisfactory.) The fundamental reasons why the relationships between the Black and the White lecturers and the Black lecturers and the White administrative staff are not satisfactory have already been alluded to. In the special context of the lecturing staff, they may be elaborated upon as follows:

(a) The attitude of the White lecturers towards the Black lecturers does not display a spirit of shared communion and fellowship. White lecturers use separate toilets, they have tea separately and contact with the Black staff is on purely formal matters.

(b) The Black lecturers are paid inferior salaries, and there has been no real protest against this state of affairs by their White col-

leagues. There is a universal discrepancy between the top notch and the initial notches on every level of academic employment. In 1960 the average ratio of salaries of Whites to those of Blacks was 100:80. Thereafter there was a decision to narrow the gap, but between 1960 and 1969 the gap widened to reach the ratio 100:65. It has now been restored to 100:80, and the net result is that the proportion, 15 years after the establishment of the University, remains exactly the same. In the case of the non-academic staff the ratio is considered to be even more unsatisfactory. The ratio of the salaries of White and Black chief and senior clerks is 100:60, but the top notch of the Black chief clerk does not even equal the initial notch of his White counterpart. In the case of typists, the ratio varies between 100:43 to 100:56, and in all cases the top notch of the Black typist is lower than the initial notch of the White typist. Clearly, this discrepancy in salary scales causes resentment among the Black staff, and is often considered to be the institutionalized overt expression of their lesser dignity.

(c) Conditions of employment also vary between Black and White staff. Whites are entitled to longer periods of paid study leave than Blacks with equivalent academic status. The housing for White academic staff is significantly superior to that for Blacks. The White academic staff have floodlit tennis courts and a swimming pool — none of these amenities is available for the Black academic staff. The area in which the White academic staff is housed is provided with proper amenities and tarred roads, in sharp contrast with the conditions prevailing in the areas occupied by the Black academic staff. The accommodation provided for bachelors of the White academic staff is also vastly superior to the somewhat rudimentary accommodation provided for Black bachelor staff.

(d) The White academic staff has a proper clubhouse for its social activities. Such facilities are entirely absent in the case of the Black academic staff.

(e) The resentment which is understandably felt by the Black academic staff at these aspects of discrimination in their employment is further aggravated by the fact that the White academic staff does practically nothing to show its objection to this system. It has spent a good deal of time (quite successfully) to ensure that the salaries which are paid to the White academics

of the University of the North are the same as the salaries paid to Whites with equivalent qualifications in other universities, but its attitude has been that the question of the discrepancy between the salaries of White and African academic staff at the University of the North is a question which the African academics must pursue on their own. How can such an attitude of indifference to the conditions of one's colleagues engender the most harmonious relationships between people of like academic quality?

(f) The official stance which is maintained is that Africanization must be encouraged at the University, and that Africans of proved ability must be encouraged by promotions. Thus the report of the Committee of Inquiry into student unrest at the University in 1972 reports, *inter alia*, that Black academicians must be appointed in every department where adequately qualified Blacks are available for appointment, and a person eligible for appointment should not be languishing in a junior position.

(*Report*, page 27; page 13 (3) (b); page 28; page 13 (4) (c)).

The actual history of promotions and appointments of Black persons has however given cause for dissatisfaction in practice.

(i) As a general matter of policy it is observed that no White person, regardless of his qualifications or experience, generally starts as a laboratory assistant or junior lecturer. This frequently happens to Black persons, and Blacks with Bachelor's degrees and sometimes Honours degrees often start at the lowest level of laboratory assistant or junior lecturers.

(ii) Promotion in the case of the White academic staff is often much faster than in the case of the Blacks. Whites sometimes head departments with only an Honours degree to their credit. This never happens to Black persons.

(iii) Some specific examples will illustrate the proposition that Africanization can be faster and bolder.

(aa) In the Department of Psychology, Mr C.S. Maja, an African who then held the degree of Bachelor of Arts, had to commence as a technical assistant, and after he obtained an Honours degree was appointed a junior lecturer in 1966, and a lecturer only in 1969.

(bb) In contrast Mr A.F. Eccles, who then held only the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was immediately appointed as a full lecturer in 1962. There were subsequent promotions after he had obtained higher qualifications.

(cc) In the Department of Geography, Mr N.I. Dlomu, who then held the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was appointed only as a senior laboratory assistant in 1969, and upon receiving an Honours degree he was elevated to the position of a junior lecturer. An Honours degree was in contrast considered quite sufficient to start Mr J. Scholtemeijer as a full lecturer in the Department of Classical Languages. Later, with the same qualifications, he was elevated to the position of senior lecturer, and still later became Head of the Department with no increase in his academic qualifications.

(dd) In the Department of History, Mr J.G. Pretorius, a White person with an Honours degree, was considered good enough to be appointed senior lecturer in 1968, and with exactly the same qualifications later became the Head of his Department. Subsequently he obtained a Ph.D. By way of contrast Mr G.M. Nkondo, an African who then had an Honours degree, was only appointed as junior lecturer in the Department of English in 1966. In 1968, after he had obtained a Master's degree, he was still a junior lecturer and became a lecturer only in 1970. He subsequently obtained a second Master's degree from the University of Leeds, and was then appointed a senior lecturer.

(ee) In the Department of Philosophy, Mr T.G.G. Mashamba, an African with an Honours degree, could only obtain the status of a junior lecturer in 1970. Subsequently he became lecturer. Similarly an African, Mr T.P. Mathivha, with an Honours degree obtained with distinction, could only be elevated to the status of a junior lecturer in 1974. Instances have already been quoted where an Honours degree, even without a distinction, has been sufficient to elevate White persons to the status of the Head of a Department.

(ff) In the Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Mr A.M. Veltman, with only a Bachelor of Science degree,

was appointed senior lecturer in 1970. In the same Department the Bachelor's degree of Mr A.C. Makgopa was however only good enough to get him an appointment as senior laboratory assistant.

(gg) Similarly, in the Department of Zoology, Mr C.C. Straub, who had a B.Sc. degree, was appointed junior lecturer in 1966. In exactly the same year and in the very same Department, Mr C.J. Mabitsela, an African with a degree, was only appointed as a technical assistant, and in 1974 another African, Mr S. Mashigo, who had a B.Sc. (Hons.) could only obtain a position as senior laboratory assistant.

(hh) Another interesting example is provided by the Department of Didactics where Mr P.F. Mohanoe, who then held the degree of Master of Education, could only get an appointment as professional assistant in 1965. He has since been promoted. By way of contrast Professor P.J. Heiberg, who at that stage had completed no course in education on a degree level but who had obtained a diploma in teaching, was made a lecturer in 1963, and Professor and Dean of the Faculty in 1968. He had an M.A. in Philosophy.

(iv) Apart from the speedy promotions the manner in which appointments are made is also unsatisfactory. An example of this is provided by the Department of Psychology. One of the outstanding and pioneering students of the University, Dr N.C. Manganyi, an African, obtained the degree of Doctor of Literature and Philosophy as far back as 1970, and has on two occasions applied for a lecturership in this Department in vain. This Department has however only one person with a Doctorate on its staff, who is Head of the Department. The remaining persons all have qualifications inferior to that of Dr Manganyi. A similar example is provided in the Department of Physics. In this case the University advertised a lecturership in 1973. An African, Mr S. Ramokgopa, with an M.Sc. in Physics, applied. His application was refused. With the exception of the Dean of the Faculty and Dr N.S. Wolmarans, there is no other person in this Department who has a higher qualification. Similarly, in the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands, the application for a lecturership by an African,

Miss Sinah Nthathe, who held an Honours degree, was refused, but a White person, Mr P.H. Roodt, with only a Bachelor's degree and a diploma in education, was nevertheless appointed to the post.

(v) It is respectfully submitted that this pattern of appointments also adds to the factors which impede good and harmonious relations between the Black and the White sectors of the University community.

(g) In addition to the aforegoing factors, the Black academic staff have a strong feeling that the majority of the White academic staff suffer from feelings of superiority and paternalism towards the Black staff. This finds support not only in the fact that they enjoy superior salaries and better conditions of employment without any strong protest, but from the further circumstance that they do not socialize or otherwise associate with the Black staff in a manner which could reasonably be expected from academics of equal status in a free University. Rare indeed have been the occasions when members of the Black staff have been inside the portals of the residence of a White member of the staff, and these occasions have been limited to strictly business matters. Isolated and secluded in a residential suburb of their own complete with clubs, tennis courts and swimming baths, the White academic staff gives every objective impression of regarding itself as a separate and distinct community of persons, with very little in common with their Black academic colleagues. This is further supported by the fact that they obtain a special "inconvenience" allowance — a sum of money made payable to them every month for the inconvenience of having to work away from their ordinary *milieu*. This allowance is perhaps significant of their attitudes. Does it not indicate that they regard teaching at a Black university as a special inconvenience or sacrifice? If this be their attitude, it is not surprising that it impedes a free and harmonious fostering of relationships between members.

(h) The paternalistic attitudes which are suspected to exist in most, but not all of the White academic staff, sometimes find overt expression either at meetings of members of the staff or in the expression of academic opinions. In the latter category of academic opinions must be included an article by Prof. F.J.

Engelbrecht of the Department of Philosophy entitled "Tyd en Neurose by die Bantoe", which was published by the University of the North in 1972. In this article the Professor advances a thesis that the tempo of the life of the African is slower than that of the White, and that for this reason integration and equality would create psychological and social disabilities. He states that the tempo of life of the African is too slow for rapid development. He concedes that he does not know the Africans as a people, because they always keep him at arm's length, and he says that his inquisitive overtures are always reciprocated with the proverbial African smile. He advances the idyllic proposition that in the semi-rural setting of the University of the North where there is peace and calm, the African people are in harmony with their landscape, and he goes on to give a vivid description of an African patient at a hospital who appeared to suffer from a break-down which could only be attributed to the fact that he had been estranged from his body and his environment, because the condition in which he was being forced to live was associated with the tempo of the White community. He refers to a tendency for natural aggressive reaction on the part of the African, which he attributes to his frustration arising from the factors to which he refers in his article. His views are typified in the following paragraphs of his article, on page 2:

The tempo of life of the Bantu is slow — slower than that of the White. You can see a different time in their bodily movements, in the things of their world, in their places, in the whole landscape in which they exist. There is a remarkable difference between the lived-time (vital time) of the white and the black. We find two different tempos in two different worlds. When these two different worlds and realities come into contact, distortion and dislocation of human time takes place. Since time is a fundamental dimension of human existence the total existential situation of the individual and society will also be affected and distorted ...

The life-world of the Bantu is totally different from that of the white. Integration and equation would not only create confusion but also psychological and social disturbances. On the other hand, the tempo of life of the Bantu is perhaps too slow for a too rapid development and change.

It is respectfully submitted that this article, which the Univer-

sity saw fit to publish officially, gives an abstract and intellectual explanation of the sometimes held belief that the African is not capable of coping with the stresses of a swift and complex industrial civilization. It is respectfully submitted that the view is devoid of all scientific foundation, and in any event is one which falls outside the discipline of philosophy altogether. Inability to cope with the pace of rapid technological development might well give birth to some form of neurosis, but the victims of such a neurosis are to be found among all racial groups, and the relevant correlation would not be on the basis of race, but on other objective bases.

The object of drawing attention to this article, however, is not to analyse the validity or otherwise of the theoretical propositions enunciated therein. The object is to submit that the outlook of large sectors of the White academic staff towards the Black people in their midst is not such as is conducive to the evolution of harmonious, meaningful and trusting relationships between Black and White. Expressions of paternalism on purportedly less abstract grounds are frequently to be found on the campus by other White lecturers who opine, for example, that Africans will not be in a position to run their own affairs properly. It is submitted that such presuppositions about the capacity of Africans are not only unscientific, but in conflict with the whole rationale for the establishment of a Black university. The establishment of a Black university with a multiplicity of disciplines peculiarly associated with the complexity of an industrial civilization necessarily assumes that Black people are not only capable of running such universities, but also that the disciplines concerned are relevant to their condition and within the development of their potential as members of *Homo sapiens*.

11. Ad Paragraph 3.2 of the Questionnaire

Should White lecturers and administrative staff take courses with regard to the Black man's culture, traditions, race relations, etc., in order to improve their understanding of students?

All knowledge increases understanding. An intimate and objective study of African culture and traditions must undoubtedly contribute in grasping the deeper aspirations and the potential of the Black man. Indeed, it is submitted that such a study might also assist in assessing the weaknesses of certain other cultures in many respects. Thus, a

study of some of the ancient Black civilizations and the value systems which have been instinctively acceptable to Black people over the generations, might provide an important corrective to the chaos which has sometimes resulted in the unimpeded development of Western technology. These values are based on a system which emphasizes and finds sustenance in mutual help between its members, in a reciprocity of relations between such members on various planes and a greater readiness to share both the fruits and the labours of life. The golden thread which runs throughout the history of the Black man through different ages and in different parts of the world is the primacy of the group in which he lives over the individual, without detracting in any way from the uniqueness and the potential of the individual for development. This golden thread is so inextricably interwoven in the history and development of the Black man that it has become instinctively part of his whole psychological and spiritual make-up. This explains how easily the Black man is jarred by expressions of rampant individualism and selfishness, which are sometimes able to hide behind an ostensibly respectable concept of the liberty of the individual in Western democratic civilization. It is accordingly submitted that this kind of study is essential for such understanding of the Black man.

It would be an error however to assume that mere academic study of the Black man's culture will in itself be sufficient to ensure the fostering of harmonious relationships between Black and White. An intellectual grasp of some of the Black man's institutions and value systems will not be sufficient by itself to cure the consequences of an objective state of affairs which ensures permanent inroads into the status and dignity of the Black man on the campus. It is submitted that the most effective solution of the estrangement between Black and White on the campus would lie in the elimination of all measures of discrimination, and in ensuring that the control of a Black university is fundamentally in Black hands. This is considered to be crucial. The Black man at the University of the North cannot feel completely secure at, and uncompromisingly proud of the University unless and until the University can be regarded as one whose destinies he controls.

12. Ad Paragraph 3.3 of the Questionnaire

How would you classify the formal co-operation between the following groups of persons?

	Good	Satisfactorily	Uncertain
(a) Colleagues within your department course of study			
(b) White and Black lecturers		X	
(c) Your department course of study and other departments courses of study with whom you normally have contact		X	
(d) Lecturers and administrative staff		X	

Please elaborate

The question has been understood as being with reference to the purely *formal* co-operation. It is conceded that the channels of formal co-operation must be considered substantially satisfactory. It is respectfully submitted, however, that it would be grossly artificial to separate the formal co-operation from the informal arenas of co-operation. For the Black and White lecturers within a Department or between inter-related Departments or disciplines to enjoy meaningful co-operation, it is essential that there be uninhibited mutual confidence and a spirit of free fellowship. The proper evolution of such a spirit remains for ever sabotaged by the objective differences in the status, the employment and the conditions of Black and White to which reference has been made.

13. Ad Paragraph 3.4 of the Questionnaire

Have you any suggestions with a view to improving formal co-operation between the groups persons referred to in paragraph 3.3? (Would you, e.g., be in favour of interdisciplinary discussions where colleagues from different courses of study can meet formally informally to discuss academic and other problems of current interest?)

As will appear from the previous submissions, the abolition of discrimination between Black and White at the University and the power to administer and control the University by Blacks, are considered to be the basic foundations on which improved co-operation can be built. In addition thereto it is suggested that the establishment of committees on which related disciplines can be represented would help in the effectiveness of formal co-operation between different departments and different courses. The complexity of modern studies has understandably led to a greater degree of specialization in all the sciences, but this carries with it the disadvantage of failing to inculcate in the student a more integrated approach, disclosing the essential unity in diversity in all nature. If success is to be achieved in

showing such unity, it is not sufficient merely to have unplanned and *ad hoc* discussions in this regard. Formal committees have to be established, and formal courses with this end in view might have to be planned, e.g. a course in the philosophy of science, which is absent at the University, might help very much in showing that both science and philosophy are attempting to harness the human mind in the understanding and appreciation of the same mysteries of the universe.

14. Ad Paragraph 3.5 of the Questionnaire

Do you regard the existence of separate Staff Associations for Black and White staff members to be conducive to good staff relationships or detrimental to such relations?

Conducive to ☐ Detrimental to ☐ Uncertain ☐

If you regard the position to be *conducive* to good staff relationships, please elaborate.

If you regard the present position to be *detrimental* to staff relationships, please elaborate. How should this unsatisfactory state of affairs, in your opinion, be remedied?

It is difficult to answer crisply the question as to whether separate staff associations for Black and White are conducive to or detrimental to staff relationships without relating this question to certain other questions and to different possible stages in the development of the University — what might be conducive today might be detrimental tomorrow.

There can be little doubt that ideally it would be preferable to have a single staff association regardless of race. Indeed, separate staff associations based on race appeared quite unprecedented, and would seem to be strangely incongruous with the characteristics of a universitas.

It is necessary however to understand how the separate staff associations came to exist. It was found in the old "dosentevereniging" which represented both the Black and the White lecturers that there was a conflict of interests between the two groups, and the mutuality of interests which forms the basis of any voluntary association was absent. The White academic staff, as has been pointed out previously, enjoyed better salaries, better amenities, better conditions of employment and a generally more comfortable and dignified existence than their Black colleagues. The White staff was not primarily concerned with eliminating these differences, but with the elimination of differences between their conditions and the conditions of other White

lecturers at the older White universities. Physically they remained quite segregated in their separate suburbs, and socially they encouraged no communication at all. Politically, their sympathy as a group predominated by Afrikaans-speaking persons, lay with the political and cultural aspirations of Afrikaner nationalism, and they became largely identified with the political views of the political party in power in South Africa. The Black lecturers on the other hand understood but could obviously not have the same approach to Afrikaner nationalism. Their own emotional attachment would lie in those political ideas and programmes which espouse the right of the Black people to the fullest development of their potential as people, and they were critical of those aspects of the policies of the ruling political party which in their view impeded such development. The Black staff supported with vigour the right of the Black community to develop and administer the University, and believed on good and justifiable grounds that its own security would be furthered in such a development. The White staff on the other hand felt insecure at the prospect of control of the University by Black people.

These conflicts and other ancillary conflicts which flowed therefrom, such as complaints about the inability of the White lecturers properly to understand the aspirations of the Black man, led to a state of affairs where the constitutionally unifying umbrella of the common "dosentevereniging" came to contain two very distinct groups with very little in common. This found some formal expression in a *Blanke* and a *nie-Blanke Belange Groep* within the same organization which pursued the separate interests of their respective members, under the overall aegis of the "dosentevereniging". In the end, however, it was realized that the unity of common "dosentevereniging" was a mere legal or constitutional fiction, and that in every other meaningful sense there were two distinct groups. The result was the formation of separate associations to give constitutional expression to a *de facto* state of affairs.

From the aforegoing analysis it follows that the question as to whether there should be one association representing all the lecturers, or two, cannot be separated from the fundamental causes which give rise to the division and which form such an important aspect of the causes which have led to major dissatisfaction at the University between Black and White. No academician, Black or White, can ever abandon the ideal of a unity which could express itself through a common organization. For this ideal to be realized, however, it is

essential that meaningful advance be made in the removal of the basic causes which lead to the division. Discrimination between Black and White must be eliminated, and a university for Blacks in an area intended for a Black homeland must come to be controlled by Black people. Should that happen, a united association of lecturers, regardless of colour, would be able to play a meaningful role in the advancement of common and not conflicting goals.

15. Ad Paragraph 3.6 of the Questionnaire

Would you regard your personal relationships with your colleagues as generally good? Are your relations, e.g. frank, easy-going and pleasant?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Your relations with:			
(a) Colleagues within your department			X
(b) Colleagues belonging to a different race group as yourself		X	
(c) Colleagues in other departments			X
(d) Administrative staff		X	

Relations between lecturers belonging to the same racial group are generally satisfactory. As in all walks of life, there may be individual resentments or causes of conflict, but this does not affect the general picture. For the reasons previously stated, relations between colleagues of different racial groups are not considered to be "frank" or "easy-going". There is clearly an element of artificiality and unreality between such persons, based on the fact that both know that there is an institutionalized discrimination which favours the one group against the other. The absence of contact on an informal level and the inability of the one group to understand the aspirations of the other, all contribute to an atmosphere which prevents the relationships from being really "frank, easy-going and pleasant".

16. Ad Paragraph 3.7 of the Questionnaire

Would you prefer to know your colleagues better?

Yes [X] No [ ]

If you wish the statement above to be qualified in respect of colleagues or categories of colleagues whom you would like to know better than others, please give your reasons:

As will appear from the previous answers, there is most definitely a

need for better understanding. The Black lecturers cannot conceive how the White lecturers can properly know their Black colleagues if they live in completely isolated suburbs with no social or informal relationships, and benefit from institutionalized rules which give them preference over their Black colleagues in all material respects relating to their conditions of employment. If the White lecturers were to show more active concern about the facilities available to their Black colleagues and about their conditions of employment, and if they showed a greater readiness to mix with them on a social level, they might perhaps come to win more confidence from the Black lecturers, and they might also come to know and understand better the aspirations and views of their Black colleagues.

17. Ad Paragraph 3.8 of the Questionnaire

Are you as a White willing to work under a Black man?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If your reply is in the negative, please give your reasons:

This question does not apply to the Black academic staff. BASA does, however, express its objection to the proposition that a White may not work under a Black man, even in a Black university in an area intended for a Black homeland. This is studiously avoided at the University of the North and is, in the opinion of Black lecturers, significantly symptomatic of the failure of the White lecturers to accept their Black colleagues as equals. If there were not such a failure to accord to the Black man his rightful dignity based on academic merit, how could any White person conceivably object to working under a Black man merely because he is Black? The fact that Black people are not put in positions of authority over White persons at the University of the North, has often been considered as formidable evidence in support of the impression that the University of the North continues to express and extend the views of White supremacy often to be found outside the homelands. The willingness of any member of the White administration or White academic staff at the University to accept such a system without opposition, is considered to be equally formidable evidence of his adherence to the basic assumptions of a policy of White supremacy. It is respectfully submitted that such a policy must forthwith be repudiated on the highest levels in order to ensure the dignity and status both of the University and its members.

18. Ad Paragraph 3.9 of the Questionnaire

Are you as a Black willing to work under a White man?

Yes [X] No [ ]

If your answer is in the negative, please give your reasons.

A Black academician would most certainly not object to working under a White man merely because he is White. He would object if there are objective grounds for such objection. This would not necessarily be limited to academic grounds. A White person with impressive academic qualifications, with deep-seated beliefs about the supremacy of the White people and a complete inability to understand the aspirations of a Black person, would be considered to be unsuitable to be in a position of authority over Black people at the University. Fundamental in this regard also is the Black man's desire that the University must be controlled and administered by Black men of ability. The choice of White personnel in positions of authority will then be made by them in the exercise of their own sovereignty and free will, not imposed from without. Indeed, a sovereign and autonomous Black university might well consider it expedient to engage academicians of merit not only from among the ranks of Whites in South Africa, but also from members of the Indian and Coloured community, and from the ranks of persons of outstanding academic achievement from abroad. To the knowledge of BASA, no academicians have been drawn either from the Indian or Coloured community or from persons abroad.

Section 4 deals with External Relationships. The first two questions were dealt with as follows:

4.1 Would you say that you are familiar with the aspirations of the Black peoples represented at your University in regard, *inter alia*, to the political, economical and social fields?

Yes [X] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

4.2 How do these aspirations (or the way they are interpreted by you) affect you personally?

	Yes	No
Are you sympathetic toward these aspirations?	X	
Do you support them with any qualification?		
Do you associate yourself with them?	X	
Do they concern you in any way?	X	
Do you see them as a threat?		X

19. Ad Paragraph 4.3 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that a knowledge and an understanding of these aspirations are relevant to the position of any lecturer at your University?

Yes [X] No [ ]

Motivate your answer.

It has been previously explained in this Memorandum that an understanding of the aspirations of the Black students is considered not only relevant but crucial. In the absence of such understanding there must be intermittent break-downs in the administration of the University, and there is a perpetual danger of a complete collapse. As more fully set out elsewhere, it is considered that the White academic staff and administration have generally failed to understand these aspirations, which include the Black man's desire to control his own destiny, and that this failure has been a major cause in disruptions at the University.

20. Ad Paragraph 4.4 of the Questionnaire

Would you say the press reporting and radio comments on matters relating to your University reflected the correct image of the University to the general public?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Afrikaans newspapers			
English newspapers			
Newspapers distributed mainly amongst Blacks			
Radio			

Any other comments?

It is seldom possible to get the popular Press to give a balanced view of a university. The complexity of its academic facets is considered to be too esoteric for popular readership. There is therefore a universal tendency to emphasize the sensational and the spectacular and to find drama in ordinary situations. In addition thereto as far as the point of view of the Black community is concerned, it must be remembered that this community does not control any sector of the Press. It is therefore unable to project properly its aspirations on a dignified and responsible level, and it is certainly not happy with the over-simplified and sensational image which is sometimes given to the affairs of the University in the national Press.

21. Ad Paragraph 4.5 of the Questionnaire

Do you regard the functioning of the Department of Development Public Relations of your University satisfactory with regard to reflecting a favourable image of the University to the public?

Yes		No		Uncertain	X

Any other comments or suggestions?

The Public Relations Officer of the University is a White person. It is submitted that a Black person in this Department with authority is essential. In the first place, this would ensure that the publicity channelled from the Department projects the aspirations and image of the Black community at the University in an objective and effective manner. Secondly, publicity which is Black-orientated would be more relevant to the image of a Black university. Thirdly, publicity with such an orientation might carry greater authenticity and credibility in the public mind, and might also help further to enhance the status of the University in the eyes of the Black community outside the campus.

22. Ad Paragraph 4.6 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that sufficient liaison has been established between students and lecturers of your University and those of other Universities?

	Yes		No	X	Uncertain	
Between students:						
Between Lecturers:	Yes		No	X	Uncertain	

Have you any suggestions in order to promote such contact?

1. The Lecturers

The Black and the White lecturers operate in such separate orbits that little is known about the degree of association between White lecturers at the University and other universities. It seems to be clear, however, that such liaison is purely on an *ad hoc* and unplanned basis, more often associated with the actual interests of the lecturers *qua* lecturers than the development of thought connected with their respective disciplines. The liaison is not considered to be sufficient or effective.

There is an Academic Affairs Liaison Committee established by the Senate of the University. The function of this committee seems

largely to be concerned with the selection of suitable persons from other universities to deliver formal lectures on special occasions at the University. Whilst this is a useful function, the liaison thus established is not considered to be sufficient. What is really needed is a formalized structure with fairly intensive activity which would ensure the exchange of thought and ideas with other universities on a regular and meaningful basis. With the rapid advance of knowledge in all fields of higher learning, no university can really function effectively in a state of relative isolation. Advances in thought and new angles of research constantly appear from the most obscure sources. Not all of this is verbalized in formal journals or publications. Close and intensive contact between academicians is accordingly considered essential. This function can also not be served by a committee of University principals which meets from time to time, exchanging ideas more relevant to the administration of the University than the advance of thought in special disciplines or didactic matters.

The Black Academic Staff Association has been conscious of the inadequacy of the liaison for some time. It has now resolved to establish a co-ordinating committee of Black academicians throughout the community, and it is hoped that this will in some measure help to contribute towards more effective liaison between universities.

2. The Students

It is difficult to imagine any point of time in South Africa when the students of the universities were not associated in some kind of national union. NUSAS and the ASB represent the students of different universities in the country. National unions of students characterize student activity throughout most of the world, and ever since the end of the Second World War students have also expressed themselves in international organizations through their respective national unions.

It is considered that what is good for the whole world and for the rest of South Africa, must in principle also be considered to be good and relevant for the Black universities. It must in principle be correct that students of different universities should be encouraged to meet each other, to exchange ideas and perhaps even to crystallize disagreements. Students after all usually constitute the next generation which would be in control of the main strata of modern society. Meeting together and talking together is an important exercise in training a democratic temperament.

In the case of the University of the North, its students have both formal and informal contacts with the students of other Black universities. The informal contacts are on a loose *ad hoc* basis when teach-ins or youth camps are established. The formal contact was previously the South African Students' Organization which is intended to play the role in Black students' affairs which NUSAS did in the case of English-speaking students, and the ASB did in the case of Afrikaans-speaking students. In recent times, students of the University of the North have not been allowed formally to affiliate to the South African Students' Organization, perhaps because the authorities have formed the view that the South African Students' Organization had contributed to the disruptions at the University in 1972.

It is respectfully submitted that this would be an erroneous approach. As has been stated previously the basic causes of student dissatisfaction arise from the objective conditions of discrimination on the University campus and related matters concerning the status of the Black students generally, and the aspirations of the Black community that they should be allowed to control their own university. As long as this dissatisfaction exists, it must be expected to express itself from time to time — SASO or no SASO. Providing that meaningful progress is made in dealing with the main causes of Black dissatisfaction at the University, there should be no objection to a liaison between students through a national organization such as SASO. The philosophy of Black consciousness which it is said to espouse is not in itself harmful, and might indeed be consistent with the basic rationale of a Black university. This was indeed recognized by the report of the Committee of Inquiry into student unrest at the University of the North on page 60, where the following finding appears:

> "The South African Students' Organization has the support of the Black community. Nothing could therefore be achieved by banning this organization from the campus: an attempt must be made to supplement its efforts of organizing student activity."

It is respectfully submitted that this constitutes the proper approach to the matter. It would indeed be much more dangerous to create a situation in which the students feel that they have no legitimate organization through which they can express their aspirations as Black students, and must therefore have to resort to unplanned or clandestine avenues.

23. Ad Paragraph 5.1 of the Questionnaire

Section 5 deals with the role of the University for Blacks in the South African educational system and that of the lecturer at such University.

5.1 Are the following points of view in accordance with your own convictions?

		I agree	I don't agree	Uncertain
(a)	More opportunities are given to the Black man at the University for Blacks than would be available to him at the so-called open Universities			X
(b)	The University for Blacks is necessary for the implementation of the policy of separate development		X	
(c)	Separate Universities for Blacks are part of a wider pattern of discrimination against the Black man	X		
(d)	The primary task of Whites at the University for Blacks is to prepare the Black man to take over the University			
(e)	The role of the White man at the University for Blacks is that of a guardian in the process of emancipating the Black man		X	
(f)	The function of a University in a developing country differs from that of a University for a developed country			X
(g)	The Black student should be free to enrol at any University for Blacks of his own choice	X		
(h)	The White student should also be free to enrol at any one of the Universities for Blacks	X		
(i)	The Black student should have the freedom to enrol at *any* University of his own choice	X		
(j)	The Black student should be free to enrol at any University only as a post-graduate student		X	
(k)	The University for Blacks is regarded by many people such as employers to be inferior	X		

Please motivate your answers.

(a) The proposition that more opportunities are given to the Black man at the University for Blacks than would be available to him at so-called open universities is extremely doubtful as a general proposition. It depends on the policies pursued by individual open universities and the policies they would be allowed to pursue by the State. As far as the Afrikaans-speaking univer-

sities are concerned, hardly any Blacks have been admitted to study, and if there are any admissions they must be confined to a few nominal admissions on a post-graduate basis. Certainly no Black lecturers have been admitted at such universities. As far as the English-speaking universities are concerned, Blacks were admitted on merit as students before the statute which prohibited the admission of Black students without Ministerial permission. Since that statute, further admissions have taken place with Ministerial consent from time to time. Very few Black lecturers have been appointed, but it is certainly not unknown for this to happen. For example, the present Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Natal is an Indian lady. On the other hand, the University of Cape Town some years ago found itself in strong conflict with the State when it decided to appoint an African as senior lecturer in the Department of Anthropology.

The picture which thus emerges is a little confused. It seems to be correct to say that no academic impediments are placed on any Black student who has entered or wishes to enter an open university for the purpose of doing his studies, providing he succeeds in obtaining the necessary Ministerial permission under the statute. As far as Black lecturers are concerned, they have not been prominent at the so-called open universities. This can be attributed partly to an election to that effect in the case of the Afrikaans-speaking universities, partly to the disapproval of the State with such policies and partly due to the fact that until the establishment of the Black universities there did not appear to be an adequate number of Black academics with the qualifications and the willingness to opt for an academic life.

In considering the question as to whether the opportunities which are available at a Black univeristy are greater than those at an open university, regard must however also be had to the quality of the facilities made available by the universities concerned, the age and traditions of the university and the financial facilities available for research and study. The University of Cape Town, for example, is a very old university with an international reputation. It is able to draw academicians from all over the world. In the case of all the White universities, they have existed for many years, have the experience which age brings in teaching methods and research, and are generously

largely to be concerned with the selection of suitable persons from other universities to deliver formal lectures on special occasions at the University. Whilst this is a useful function, the liaison thus established is not considered to be sufficient. What is really needed is a formalized structure with fairly intensive activity which would ensure the exchange of thought and ideas with other universities on a regular and meaningful basis. With the rapid advance of knowledge in all fields of higher learning, no university can really function effectively in a state of relative isolation. Advances in thought and new angles of research constantly appear from the most obscure sources. Not all of this is verbalized in formal journals or publications. Close and intensive contact between academicians is accordingly considered essential. This function can also not be served by a committee of University principals which meets from time to time, exchanging ideas more relevant to the administration of the University than the advance of thought in special disciplines or didactic matters.

The Black Academic Staff Association has been conscious of the inadequacy of the liaison for some time. It has now resolved to establish a co-ordinating committee of Black academicians throughout the community, and it is hoped that this will in some measure help to contribute towards more effective liaison between universities.

2. The Students

It is difficult to imagine any point of time in South Africa when the students of the universities were not associated in some kind of national union. NUSAS and the ASB represent the students of different universities in the country. National unions of students characterize student activity throughout most of the world, and ever since the end of the Second World War students have also expressed themselves in international organizations through their respective national unions.

It is considered that what is good for the whole world and for the rest of South Africa, must in principle also be considered to be good and relevant for the Black universities. It must in principle be correct that students of different universities should be encouraged to meet each other, to exchange ideas and perhaps even to crystallize disagreements. Students after all usually constitute the next generation which would be in control of the main strata of modern society. Meeting together and talking together is an important exercise in training a democratic temperament.

In the case of the University of the North, its students have both formal and informal contacts with the students of other Black universities. The informal contacts are on a loose *ad hoc* basis when teach-ins or youth camps are established. The formal contact was previously the South African Students' Organization which is intended to play the role in Black students' affairs which NUSAS did in the case of English-speaking students, and the ASB did in the case of Afrikaans-speaking students. In recent times, students of the University of the North have not been allowed formally to affiliate to the South African Students' Organization, perhaps because the authorities have formed the view that the South African Students' Organization had contributed to the disruptions at the University in 1972.

It is respectfully submitted that this would be an erroneous approach. As has been stated previously the basic causes of student dissatisfaction arise from the objective conditions of discrimination on the University campus and related matters concerning the status of the Black students generally, and the aspirations of the Black community that they should be allowed to control their own university. As long as this dissatisfaction exists, it must be expected to express itself from time to time — SASO or no SASO. Providing that meaningful progress is made in dealing with the main causes of Black dissatisfaction at the University, there should be no objection to a liaison between students through a national organization such as SASO. The philosophy of Black consciousness which it is said to espouse is not in itself harmful, and might indeed be consistent with the basic rationale of a Black university. This was indeed recognized by the report of the Committee of Inquiry into student unrest at the University of the North on page 60, where the following finding appears:

> "The South African Students' Organization has the support of the Black community. Nothing could therefore be achieved by banning this organization from the campus: an attempt must be made to supplement its efforts of organizing student activity."

It is respectfully submitted that this constitutes the proper approach to the matter. It would indeed be much more dangerous to create a situation in which the students feel that they have no legitimate organization through which they can express their aspirations as Black students, and must therefore have to resort to unplanned or clandestine avenues.

23. Ad Paragraph 5.1 of the Questionnaire

Section 5 deals with the role of the University for Blacks in the South African educational system and that of the lecturer at such University.

5.1 Are the following points of view in accordance with your own convictions?

		I agree	I don't agree	Uncertain
(a)	More opportunities are given to the Black man at the University for Blacks than would be available to him at the so-called open Universities			X
(b)	The University for Blacks is necessary for the implementation of the policy of separate development		X	
(c)	Separate Universities for Blacks are part of a wider pattern of discrimination against the Black man	X		
(d)	The primary task of Whites at the University for Blacks is to prepare the Black man to take over the University			
(e)	The role of the White man at the University for Blacks is that of a guardian in the process of emancipating the Black man		X	
(f)	The function of a University in a developing country differs from that of a University for a developed country			X
(g)	The Black student should be free to enrol at any University for Blacks of his own choice	X		
(h)	The White student should also be free to enrol at any one of the Universities for Blacks	X		
(i)	The Black student should have the freedom to enrol at *any* University of his own choice	X		
(j)	The Black student should be free to enrol at any University only as a post-graduate student		X	
(k)	The University for Blacks is regarded by many people such as employers to be inferior	X		

Please motivate your answers.

(a) The proposition that more opportunities are given to the Black man at the University for Blacks than would be available to him at so-called open universities is extremely doubtful as a general proposition. It depends on the policies pursued by individual open universities and the policies they would be allowed to pursue by the State. As far as the Afrikaans-speaking univer-

sities are concerned, hardly any Blacks have been admitted to study, and if there are any admissions they must be confined to a few nominal admissions on a post-graduate basis. Certainly no Black lecturers have been admitted at such universities. As far as the English-speaking universities are concerned, Blacks were admitted on merit as students before the statute which prohibited the admission of Black students without Ministerial permission. Since that statute, further admissions have taken place with Ministerial consent from time to time. Very few Black lecturers have been appointed, but it is certainly not unknown for this to happen. For example, the present Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Natal is an Indian lady. On the other hand, the University of Cape Town some years ago found itself in strong conflict with the State when it decided to appoint an African as senior lecturer in the Department of Anthropology.

The picture which thus emerges is a little confused. It seems to be correct to say that no academic impediments are placed on any Black student who has entered or wishes to enter an open university for the purpose of doing his studies, providing he succeeds in obtaining the necessary Ministerial permission under the statute. As far as Black lecturers are concerned, they have not been prominent at the so-called open universities. This can be attributed partly to an election to that effect in the case of the Afrikaans-speaking universities, partly to the disapproval of the State with such policies and partly due to the fact that until the establishment of the Black universities there did not appear to be an adequate number of Black academics with the qualifications and the willingness to opt for an academic life.

In considering the question as to whether the opportunities which are available at a Black univeristy are greater than those at an open university, regard must however also be had to the quality of the facilities made available by the universities concerned, the age and traditions of the university and the financial facilities available for research and study. The University of Cape Town, for example, is a very old university with an international reputation. It is able to draw academicians from all over the world. In the case of all the White universities, they have existed for many years, have the experience which age brings in teaching methods and research, and are generously

endowed with enormous libraries, laboratory facilities and technical equipment. It will be idle to pretend that a student at the University of the North has access to facilities comparable in quality and range. Nor does it appear that there is any conscious attempt being made to redress this imbalance and to overcome the disadvantages of the younger Black universities by making more liberal financial allocations. From the report of the Committee of Inquiry into universities under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice van Wyk de Vries, it will appear from Table B (XI) that during the year 1968 the total expenditure of the White universities per student was as follows:-

University of Pretoria	R498,47
University of the Witwatersrand	R747,69
University of Cape Town	R657,53
University of Stellenbosch	R574,00
University of Natal	R678,06
University of Potchefstroom	R577,01
University of the Orange Free State	R585,25
University of Rhodes	R826,95

BASA has been unable to find comparable figures for the year 1968, but a statement appearing on page 2 of the Calendar of the University of the North in respect of the academic year 1974, under the heading of "Historical Survey" states that in respect of the year 1973 the annual expenditure of the University was 2,3 million rand, and the student enrolment was 1 276. This appears to constitute an expenditure of approximately R180 per student (exclusive of capital expenditure). It can also be accepted that more was being spent in 1973 than in 1968. It thus seems that the expenditure at the University of the North per student constitutes:

35% of the amount spent per student at the University of Pretoria;

24% of the amount spent per student at the University of the Witwatersrand;

27% of the amount spent per student at the University of Cape Town;

31% of the amount spent per student at the University of Stellenbosch;

31% of the amount spent per student at the University of Potchefstroom;

30% of the amount spent per student at the University of the Orange Free State;

21% of the amount spent per student at the University of Rhodes.

(b) It does not seem logically necessary for a university for Blacks to exist in order to implement the policy of separate development. The physical segregation of people in employment, in commerce, in industry and in the professions is apparently not considered essential for the implementation of this policy, and during the lifetime of the erstwhile Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, he gave to the House of Assembly an elaborate explanation as to why economic integration did not have to carry with it political integration, and why economic integration was not necessarily inconsistent with the policy of separate development. If this is correct, it would apply also on an academic level, and there does not seem to be any necessary basis for the proposition that the segregation of students in the strata of higher education is essential for the policy of separate development.

(c) From the statements previously made relating to discriminatory practices at the University itself, from the racial attitudes to which attention has been drawn and from the important fact that universities for Blacks were not established independently on their own merits, but as part of a legislative plan for excluding Blacks from attendance at the open universities, substantial evidence can be gathered in support of the proposition contained in Paragraph 5.1 (c) of the Questionnaire.

(d) The proposition in the form in which it is contained in Paragraph 5.1 (d) of the Questionnaire could be interpreted to mean that the Whites have some kind of missionizing or charitable role. For the reasons previously set out, the patronising element involved in such thinking is rejected. If the proposition simply means that preparations must be made for the control of the University by Black persons, then this is strongly supported.

(e) The proposition contained in Paragraph 5.1 (e) is rejected on

the grounds that it postulates a patronising role on the part of the Whites towards the Blacks.

(f) On the one hand, it must be freely conceded that every university reflects to some extent the context in which it operates. Understandably, a university in an agrarian society might have a vigorous Department of Agricultural Science, and a university in a large metropolis might have a flourishing Department of Architecture, paying special attention to the architectural problems of construction and design in concentrated populations.

It is important however that this aspect must not be allowed to distort the true character of a university. Overwhelmingly it is concerned with the teaching and pursuit of objective truths which remain universally valid throughout the world. No university can therefore afford its function to become so distorted that it ceases in a real sense to be a member of the international community of universities. The acid test in practice should be: Can a graduate of the University enrol for post-graduate studies at another university in another country without being accused of having had a training which was so parochial as to render him unfit for such post-graduate work? It is respectfully submitted that the difference of opinion which has emerged between the members of the Commission of Inquiry into universities under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice van Wyk de Vries, does not contain any statements which show any disagreement with the propositions advanced in this subparagraph.

(g) It is respectfully submitted that the Black student should be entitled to enrol at any university. The restriction of studies at the University of the North based on ethnic grounds is a source of considerable resentment on the part of the Black community. Such a restriction firstly overlooks the important truth that the disciplines which are pursued and taught at the University are inherently universalistic and have no relation to any specific ethnic unit. Secondly, such a restriction over-looks completely the source from which the majority of the students are drawn. The majority of students come from the major areas of African urban settlement such as Soweto. The ethnic origin of a student coming from Soweto is really a question of only historical or peripheral interest. Much more relevant to his life, his

aspirations and his interests are the ideas, views, hopes, ambitions, dreams and frustrations which he shares with others in the same environment. To attempt to regulate the admission of such students on the basis of the language which might have been spoken by their forefathers is artificial and unreal in the extreme, and assumes an emphasis on ethnic differences which bears absolutely no resemblance to what is encountered in practice.

(h) &(i) Whilst different universities in different areas will often display a certain orientation associated with their own peculiar history, their members and their environment (e.g. the orientation of the University of Potchefstroom will substantially be Afrikaans and Christian), there does not seem to be any rational basis why there should be any legal impediment to the attendance of any particular student at a particular university based on grounds of race. It is submitted that such restrictions, based on compulsion, should be abandoned, and that the abandonment must be reciprocal.

(j) It follows from the answer given in the preceding paragraph that the right of a Black student to enrol at any university should not be limited to post-graduate studies.

(k) The question is answered in the affirmative, because employers generally believe that new universities in a rural setting, restricted on an ethnic basis, with limited funds and facilities, cannot compete with the older universities having access to vast resources and operating in the excitement of an urban civilization. Even in the United States, where many of the Black universities were situated in urban areas, research showed that a graduate from a Black university very often suffered from the stigma of having graduated from a university which was not believed to be among the best.

24. Ad Paragraph 5.2 of the Questionnaire

Do you regard your task at your University as:

a privilege		a sacrifice				Uncertain	
temporary		permanent	X				
the same	X	different		(as that of your colleagues at Universities for Whites)			
a challenge	X	no challenge					

For the reasons previously explained, the attitude of the Black staff is that it is wrong to consider academic service at the University as a sacrifice. It is most certainly a challenge for the Black lecturers, and they consider it correct and proper that such a challenge must be met with a sense of passionate commitment. It is in this spirit that they have accepted their jobs at the University and that they have prepared this Memorandum.

25. Ad Paragraph 5.3 of the Questionnaire

Do you at your University experience a feeling of:

					Uncertain
security		insecurity	X		
acceptance	X	rejection		(from the students' point of view)	
inferiority		equality	X	(i.r.o. other Universities on an academic level)	
freedom		restraint	X	(of speech)	

The Black lecturers enjoy a substantial measure of acceptance from the students, and do not consider themselves inferior to any other universities on an academic level. It must frankly be stated, however, that they do suffer a measure of insecurity and some inhibition in expressing themselves freely. This arises in the first place from the provisions of the statute establishing the University, which will be dealt with more fully in a later context, and which gives to the State as distinct from the University itself, a far greater measure of power in interfering with the appointment and tenure of lecturers, than would appear from the statutes dealing with the establishment of the open universities. The actual conditions of service also confer wide discretionary powers in terminating the employment of a particular lecturer on certain grounds. Perhaps these theoretical powers would be less significant in a university where there was a greater communion of interests and mutual respect and confidence between persons with like standards and interests. Regard being had, however, to the different approaches, aspirations, privileges and disabilities between Black and White on the academic staff, the theoretical powers assume a greater subjective threat. Such powers are reinforced from time to time by the experience of individual persons. An incident which is not readily forgotten relates to the experience of Professor Moloi, an African at the University in the Department of Southern Sotho. Some years ago he spoke at a

symposium on the subject of "Homelands as labour reservoirs". During the course of his contribution he expressed the view that the homelands were not being developed as viable independent economic units, but merely being used as labour reservoirs to continue the flow of Black labour to White mines and in industry, and quoted certain extracts from the speeches of the former Prime Minister in support of these propositions. Whatever view one takes of such an approach, it is by no means unusual or unprecedented in academic or political circles in South Africa. This sort of thing must have been said by persons like Professor Monica Wilson of Cape Town on diverse occasions. In the case of Professor Moloi, however, he was instantly summoned to a disciplinary committee of the University, and given a very serious warning to desist from expressions of this kind. It is respectfully submitted that this sort of regulation of academic expression should be foreign to the basic spirit of a free university, which must in fact stimulate academic dissent as distinct from party political activity. The experience of Professor Moloi became widely known on the campus, and constantly acts as a restraint upon others. A Mr Ndamse underwent a similar experience at the University of Fort Hare some years back, for a criticism of the law restricting the right of Africans to attend the open universities. The feelings of insecurity of the Black staff are sometimes aggravated by the belief that the police are active on the campus in some form or other. It is not suggested that the police do not have a right, and indeed a duty, to investigate any contraventions of the criminal law, but where their influence inhibits the legitimate expression of political criticism, it is considered to be unhealthy. Among the most attractive and delightful qualities of students at all universities is the capacity and the willingness to question the most fundamental assumptions of their superiors. It would be sad indeed if this capacity is depleted for any reason at the University of the North.

26. Ad Paragraph 5.4 of the Questionnaire

Would you have preferred a similar post at one of the Universities for Whites to the one that you now hold?

Yes	No	Uncertain
		X

The position in a university for Whites might offer more luxurious facilities for research and perhaps a freer atmosphere, but the

uncertainty is whether this would constitute a challenge sufficiently fulfilling for one's spirit.

27. Ad Paragraph 5.5 of the Questionnaire

Are you satisfied that students receive adequate guidance on matters such as:

	Yes	No	Uncertain
(a) the selection of courses?		X	
(b) study methods and related matters?		X	
(c) careers open to Blacks?		X	

Do you have any suggestions to make to improve the position if you are not satisfied with the present situation?

There does exist a guidance committee established by the Senate. At the beginning of each year, different members of this committee are assigned to interview individual students, and they do their best to give advice on the selection of courses. They also explain the facilities available at the University, and the rules of application. All this, however, takes place during the course of a single day. It is submitted that this is quite inadequate for the purpose of enabling a new matriculant to understand the great difference between a school and a university. A far more formalized and intensive programme is necessary to inculcate into the student a love for and a commitment to the pursuit of objective truth, the habits of research, observation and scientific examination and the art of intelligent note-taking during formal lectures. A more intimate association between the new student and the lecturer is also necessary in order for the lecturer to appreciate properly the aptitude and the potential of a particular student in respect of a particular field of study or discipline. It is accordingly submitted that serious thought should be given to a planned programme of post-school and pre-university education spread over a period of some days before the commencement of the formal course on university level.

28. Ad Paragraph 5.6 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the establishment of more separate technical schools or colleges are, for, *inter alia*, socio-economical reasons, preferable to the establishment of more Universities for Blacks?

Yes [X] No [ ]

Please elaborate.

Regard being had to the fact that there is a far lesser number of students at the University of the North than at most of the open universities, there does not seem at this stage to be any great need to establish additional universities for Blacks. The existing universities have a substantial unused capacity for expansion. As in the case of Whites, however, there are large numbers of matriculants and other high school students who would be more suitable for and who would prefer a less academic education. The country's rapid economic development would also seem to suggest a tremendous demand for persons with such training. Regard being had to these factors, it is submitted that there is a more substantial case for additional technical schools and colleges rather than additional universities.

29. Ad Paragraph 5.7 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the students of your University would do better at a University for Whites?

Much Better	X
Equally well	
Weaker	

Please elaborate

Other things being equal, a student at the University of the North would do equally well at a university for Whites. It has been pointed out, however, that the older universities for Whites have far greater financial resources and a far greater diversity of library and research facilities and technical equipment. For this reason it is not unreasonable to expect that a student from the University of the North who attended a similar course at a university for Whites might in certain circumstances fare much better.

30. Ad Paragraph 5.8 of the Questionnaire

Would you, with a view to obtaining a higher academic standard, be in favour of the screening of first year students at the end of the first semester?

Yes		No	X

Please elaborate

It is considered undesirable that first-year students should be screened at the end of the first semester and thereafter eliminated if they fail to conform to a certain standard. This might well disrupt the efficient planning and administration of the University. Hostel accommodation would have to be provided for large numbers of people, with no certainty as to how many would be using it after the

first semester. Analogous problems would also be created in the number of lecturers to be assigned to particular departments, and the quantity and quality of library and laboratory facilities. Logically, it would seem that the correct approach lies in ensuring an adequate standard on the level of the matriculation examination. Historically, to matriculate means to enter a university. The matriculation standard should logically therefore be sufficient to ensure that those who pass this standard are capable of benefiting from a university education. This also has the advantage of ensuring that the standard which is considered adequate is standardized and equal throughout the country. If the screening were done by an individual university, the standards applied could not be tested against any standardized national norm.

31. Ad Paragraph 5.9 of the Questionnaire

How would you describe the atmosphere on the campus of your university?

Extremely strained	
Strained	X
Calm (normal)	

None of the three categories suggested in the Questionnaire contains a sufficiently accurate description of the atmosphere on the campus. The occasions on which some event such as the rally on the 25th September, 1974 leads to conditions of tension on the campus are extremely isolated and sporadic. The sensational treatment they receive might create the impression that this describes conditions on the campus normally. It would be more correct to say that conditions on the campus are sometimes strained, and that there is at all times a persistent undertone of dissatisfaction from the discriminatory practices to which reference has been made, and from the divergence of interests which influences the respective attitudes of the Black and the White staff to the prospects and the speed of Africanization.

32. Ad Paragraph 5.10 of the Questionnaire

What, would you say, are the main causes leading to the frustration of students at your University?

Political	X
Economic	X
Academic	X
Inferior lecturers	
Feeling of inferiority of the students	

Please elaborate.

In previous parts of this Memorandum, reference has been made to the causes which lead to the frustration of students at the University. It would be an over-simplification to isolate one single case. Undoubtedly political dissatisfaction does play a role, particularly in respect of those features of the University itself which are believed to have their origins in political institutions and ideas (e.g. the discriminatory practices against Blacks, in many cases the patronising or unsympathetic attitudes of the White staff, the practice which prevents a Black man from ever assuming any position of authority over a White person, and the very fact that Black students are by law compelled to attend only a Black university). The political causes cannot however be divorced from the economic causes. As has been pointed out, the Black community from which the students are drawn, have very modest economic incomes, and their economic disabilities are often associated by the students with their political conditions (e.g. legislation restricting the mobility of African labour from one urban area to another, laws and custom excluding Africans from certain avenues of skilled employment mainly on the grounds of race, and regulations inhibiting ownership of immovable property by Black persons outside the homeland areas). In the same way, academic causes play an interrelated role in their frustrations (e.g. the restriction of students to the University on ethnic grounds, the control of the University administration by White persons, the relative constriction in the variety of laboratory research and library facilities in comparison with the older universities, the inability to communicate fully with White lecturers who do not understand the basic African aspirations, and the rather constrictive and stilted style of lecturing in certain departments which emphasizes mechanical note-taking without lively academic disputation). It is not believed that the feelings of inferiority or inferior lecturers referred to in Paragraph 5.10 of the Questionnaire play any significant role in the frustrations generally, and could certainly not be described as being in the category of main causes leading to frustration. Whilst it is appreciated that the frustration of the Black student arising from the more fundamental questions relating to the political status of the Black man in the country would not disappear automatically with radical domestic reform at the University itself (any more than the political dissatisfaction of White students would by analogous reform), it is respectfully submitted that a serious attempt to allow the University to be controlled by Black people and to eliminate discriminatory and

other practices on the campus itself which lead to wide-spread frustration, would undoubtedly lead to a significantly high level of efficiency and satisfaction in the administration, the progress and the evolution of the University.

33. Ad Paragraph 6.3 of the Questionnaire

Section Six deals with Control and Administration of the University for Blacks. The first three questions were dealt with as follows:

6.1 Would you say that the students should have more say in:

(a)	the composition of general rules of conduct (e.g. hostel rules)	Yes	X	No	
(b)	the application of such rules	Yes	X	No	
(c)	in the management of the University?	Yes	X	No	

6.2 Would you say that the S.R.C. should be given more opportunity to:

(a)	invite speakers of their own choice?	Yes	X	No	
(b)	effect liaison with other student bodies, organisations, etc.?	Yes	X	No	

6.3 If you are of the opinion that lecturers and/or students (at your University) cannot lead a full life, would you attribute the state of affairs to:

Intellectual inability	
Immaturity	
Unadaptability	
Other factors (specify)	

It must be conceded that there are impediments which prevent lecturers and students from living a "full life". It is respectfully submitted however that it would be too superficial to attribute this to factors such as intellectual inability, immaturity or unadaptability. In the case of the Black lecturers, reference has already been made to the absence of facilities comparable to those of the White staff. The fact that such facilities are lacking and the knowledge that such privileges are extended to other colleagues of a different race, impede the enjoyment of a full life. In the case of the students, reference has already been made to their disabilities and grievances on the campus itself, and these disabilities also impede the enjoyment of a full life. More fundamentally, however, a full life on the campus must have an element of reality based on harmony between what is on the campus, and the world outside. Too often life on the campus of a Black university appears to have a strange sense of unreality. The dignity which the University attempts in some way to afford to its members,

is in sharp conflict with the indignity which is suffered by the student outside the campus. Trained in disciplines which open up the grandeur of living in a free, open and unrestricted world, the students and lecturers are acutely conscious of the pressures and disabilities outside. They expect insecurity, disability and discrimination in employment when they leave the University; they expect their mobility to be constricted by law. All this knowledge leaves a fairly general, if not always verbalized, feeling that the University is just an abstract oasis of ideas, not specially relevant to the conditions in the world outside.

It is appreciated that these more generalized causes of the inability of the student to live a full life, may not so easily be remediable in the context of a Commission concerned primarily with the University itself, but attention is drawn to such causes in order to guard against the mistake of making too superficial an analysis of the problems of the Black student. It is also submitted that considerable room exists for radical reform in the domestic administration of the University and its practices, which would certainly help both the Black students and the Black lecturers to lead a fuller life, if not a full life. *If the University, for instance, came to be controlled by Black persons, this would give to the Black people in the University a sense of dignity, a fuller sense of commitment and a role which might help to engage their lives much more fully than at present.*

6.4 Would you say that a S.R.C., recognised under the conditions mentioned in paragraph 6.2:

(a)	would be an effective link between the students and controlling bodies (Senate, Council, Rector, etc.)?	Yes	X	No
(b)	would contribute to a reduction of tension on the campus?	Yes	X	No
(c)	would hold a threat to the good order on the campus?	Yes		No X

34. Ad Paragraph 6.5 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the following functions are properly performed by the Administration?

(a)	Effecting liaison between students and the controlling bodies of the University	Yes		No X

(b) Effecting liaison between lecturers and the controlling bodies of the University

Yes [ ] No [X]

Please mention any problems that you have experienced in this regard.

It is considered that effective liaison between the students and the administration cannot simply be based on adequate formal channels of communication. The channels are ineffective because the administration is largely White and the students are Black, and the aspirations and ideals of the students are not properly understood by the White administration, whose own ideals are really much more relevant in the *milieu* of a White-orientated society. For effective liaison to ensue between the administration and the University, the control of the University by Black persons is considered to be crucial, and does not in any way appear to conflict with the rationale of the policy which gave birth to the Black universities.

35. Ad Paragraph 6.6 of the Questionnaire

Are there any administrative procedures/rulings which you find troublesome or frustrating in the execution of your functions as lecturer (e.g. rules, facilities)?

Yes [X] No [ ]

If your answer is in the affirmative, please elaborate.

What is frustrating for the Black lecturers are the discriminatory practices:

(a) Discriminatory salaries;
(b) Discriminatory conditions of employment;
(c) Discrimination in social areas;
(d) Discrimination in the quality of housing;
(e) Discrimination in employment practices (e.g. the policy that a White cannot serve under a Black person, and the pattern referred to previously, in terms of which White persons with equivalent qualifications are generally not made to start as low on the academic ladder as Black persons.)

By virtue of the fact that the Heads of most Departments are White, the Senate of the University is also overwhelmingly White. Ordinarily this would not be a matter for any dissatisfaction, because the Heads of Departments would be able to make known in the Senate the views and aspirations of the respective lecturers in their Departments. In the present case however, there is a difference in the interests and the privileges between White and Black, and thought might therefore be

given to some system in terms of which BASA, *qua* BASA, obtains a voice on the Senate.

36. Ad Paragraphs 6.7 and 6.8 of the Questionnaire

6.7 What language(s) should in your opinion be the medium of instruction at your University?

Afrikaans		English	X
Dual medium		Other media (specify)	

6.8 Should in your opinion the medium of instruction also be the medium of communication within the University in the management and administration of the University?

Yes	X	No	

The English language is undoubtedly preferred by the Black students, their parents, the Black lecturers and the Black homeland governments. The home language of the White academic and administrative staff however is mainly Afrikaans, and this has some disadvantages at times. Speaking the English language does not merely involve the use of a very sophisticated technical vocabulary as a means of communication: unconsciously it also involves an involvement in certain values and certain ways of looking at the world. In this context it is important also to have regard to the fact that historically, education for Africans in this country has been mainly in the English language. It was controlled mostly by missionaries before the advent of Bantu education in the middle fifties. On a post-matriculation level, the institutions associated with higher learning for Africans such as Fort Hare, Kilnerton and Adams College, all used English as the medium of instruction and were generally staffed and controlled by English-speaking South Africans. It is therefore understandable that the parents of the present generation of Black students would be more comfortable with and more receptive to English: the Afrikaans language is mainly associated with officialdom, and is generally considered to be alien to the education and traditions of the Black people. Having regard to this background, the use of English on the campus would facilitate communication and understanding.

37. Ad Paragraph 6.9 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the lines of communication at your University between lecturers and the administration (Rector included) are adequate and open?

Yes		No	X

If not, what should in your opinion be done to improve the situation?

The real problem lies not in the question as to whether the formal lines of communication are adequate, but whether there is frankness and understanding in such communications. As previously stated, effectiveness is impeded by the fact that what the Black sector considers as reasonable and legitimate, is in fact often seen by the White administration as a threat. In truth there may well be a conflict of interest. The Black staff and the Black students think it right, proper and necessary that there should be rapid Africanization, and especially that the control of the University should be in Black hands. The White administration understandably often interprets this as a threat to its own position and considers its security to be weakened by such demands. In the result the attitudes of the Black lecturers and students are often interpreted as being anti-White, whereas their true motivation is not based on any such negative prejudice, but a positive assertion of what they consider to be their legitimate rights at a university for Blacks in an area intended for a Black homeland. This obstructing factor arising from the divergence of both approach and interests, often finds expression in individual incidents. One example is provided by the reaction to an address by the chairman of BASA to an ecumenical congress in Johannesburg in July, 1973. During the course of this address there was an objective analysis of the future of the Black universities and the capacity and desire of the Black people to govern such universities. Not unusually, the lay Press could not find sufficient excitement in such an academic analysis, and headed its report of the address with the headline "Boshoff must go". There was a very sensitive reaction from the authorities to this report, and the lecturer had to publish a clarification. Another incident is the one which has been referred to concerning the reaction of the authorities to the contribution by Professor Moloi. It is considered that these incidents are symptomatic of a more fundamental problem, and communications will be best if everybody accepts that a Black university in an area intended for a Black homeland must inevitably come to be controlled by Black people, and that Whites at such a university do not have to "hold down" their positions once they are appointed on merit by a Black administration.

38. Ad Paragraph 6.10 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that there are any patronising and discriminatory attitudes on the part of White lecturers and administrative staff toward students?

	Lecturers	Admin. Staff
Patronising attitudes		X
Discriminatory attitudes		X
Neither		

If you feel that the lecturers and administrative staff are guilty of such conduct, please indicate how.

It has already been submitted that discrimination has been institutionalized at the University in various respects. Discrimatory and patronising attitudes often follow this. The proposition which is contended for is *not* that the White staff consciously adopts and expresses attitudes of superiority based on adherence to any kind of philosophy of Herrenvolkism. The proposition which is contended for is that patronising attitudes flowing from a failure properly to understand African aspirations unconsciously manifest themselves. In so far as examples of this are required, a few may be furnished at random which are typical of a very wide-spread attitude which is, however, not without exceptions.

(a) Mr G.M. Nkondo recalls a conversation recently held with Mr Anton Roodt, who is the Head of the Department of Literary Studies. During the course of this conversation Mr Roodt stated that when he joined the Department of English in which Mr Nkondo was also working, he was patronising towards Mr Nkondo. He stated that he believed this was the attitude of most of his White colleagues, who come from conservative backgrounds and largely regarded an African as being a "farm boy". The fact that Mr Roodt could make a statement of this kind clearly discloses a significant element of intellectual integrity on his part. The disclosure however is nevertheless revealing and corroborates the general complaint which is made by the Black students.

(b) Reference has also been made to the article by Professor Engelbrecht about the problem of neurosis among African people in relation to Time. Submissions have also been made as to the scientific validity of the propositions contained in this article, but it is believed that the theoretical and abstract foundations thereof are given practical expression in the attitudes sometimes adopted by White lecturers towards Black students. The fact that the University caused the article to be published in an

official periodical of a Black university has also been the subject of widespread criticism among Black people.

(c) An attitude which often expresses itself among the White lecturers is that Africans do not have a great capacity for abstract thought. They are able to swot facts and memorize them, but there is a limitation to their capacity for abstract thinking and original research. This view has been expressed to some of the members of BASA by Mr Eccles, of the Department of English, and Professor Louw, the present academic Registrar. The particular disciplines in which these persons have been trained, namely English and geography, do not specially qualify them for the expression of such opinions.

(d) Professor Mohoane, who was at one stage the Dean of students and therefore in a good position to understand the students' reactions to White attitudes, states that whilst he was Dean he received wide-spread complaints from Black students about discriminatory or patronising attitudes of the White lecturers. He states that the complaints which were made to him were that the White lecturers did not always show any mature respect for African cultures and traditions, and did not accord to such traditions the dignity which was due. Particularly with reference to anthropological studies, the students reported that the attitude adopted by the White anthropology lecturers to African cultures and traditions was negative and patronising. The students stated that these lecturers appeared to suggest that there was no depth in African culture, that it was characterized by manifestations of witchcraft and belief in ancestral spirits, which was considered to be primitive, and that true examples of significant and meaningful cultural developments were to be found outside of Africa. BASA is not in possession of the original terms which might have been used by the lecturers concerned, and accordingly cannot reproduce such terms in any degree of reliability, but the impression which the students seemed to have formed is not entirely inconsistent with the other expressions of opinion made by White lecturers in the presence of BASA members, to which reference has been made. It is considered highly undesirable that such impressions should have been created. The present civilization of mankind is the universal heritage of all its peoples; different communities in different ages have made their distinctive contributions,

some of which have been recorded, others were unearthed and still others have been permanently lost and buried. The task of an academic lecturer in anthropology should be to draw attention to the debt which the present generation of mankind owes to all its predecessors in a balanced manner. Such an approach would undoubtedly have taken account of the African contributions in the evolution of societies where the sharing of fortunes and disabilities was encouraged, where membership of a larger community was constantly emphasized, and where greed and reckless individualism escalating into selfishness was vigorously discouraged and opposed.

39. **Ad Paragraph 6.11 of the Questionnaire**

Would you say that your University should have a greater measure of autonomy?

Yes [X] No [ ]

Motivate your answer.

It is submitted that there are significant differences between the autonomy of the University at Turfloop and the autonomy of the White universities, and that in the case of the University of the North the State retains a significantly larger measure of control. A comparison of the relevant statutes of application discloses vital areas where it should be possible for the autonomy of the University of the North to be increased and brought into conformity with that which prevails at the White universities. There can be no good justification for discrimination between Black and White universities with regard to the degree of autonomy, and such discrimination merely serves to engender the image that the Black universities are institutions of lesser status and do not have the characteristics which are generally considered to be essential to the function of a university. The areas concerned are set out hereunder.

(a) The University of the North Act No. 47 of 1969 provides in section 2 (3) that the University shall serve the North Sotho, South Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda national units. The effect of this prohibition is not only to exclude non-Africans from admission, but also Africans belonging to certain ethnic units not referred to in the sub-section. This is considered to be an unnecessary inroad into the freedom of the University, and most certainly derogates from its image as a universitas.

(b) Section 3 (2A) of Act 43 of 1969 provides that the University of the North requires Ministerial approval to borrow any money or to receive any money or property by way of donation or bequest, or to acquire certain stores and equipment. It is submitted that this constitutes an unnecessary fetter on the University's autonomy which is not found in the corresponding provisions of the statutes governing the White universities. Thus, for example, section 3 of the University of Pretoria Act No. 13 of 1930 confers corporate status on the University, and gives it power to acquire and alienate immovable property, and perform all acts such as bodies corporate perform, including investing, borrowing and lending money. Similar provisions are contained in the statutes of the other universities.

See: Section 3 of the Rhodes University Act No. 14 of 1949;
Section 3 of the University of the Orange Free State Act No. 21 of 1949;
Section 3 (2) of the Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys Act No. 19 of 1950;
Section 4 of the University of South Africa Act No. 19 of 1959;
Section 4 of the University of Stellenbosch Act No. 37 of 1959;
Section 4 (2) of the University of Cape Town Act No. 38 of 1959.

(c) In the case of the White universities there is invariably provision made for a convocation of graduates which is deemed to constitute a part of the University, as much as the Chancellor, the Council, the Senate and the staff and students. Section 4 of the University of the North Act, however, which deals with the constituent elements of the University, makes no reference to the convocation at all, and a convocation in respect of the University of the North does not in fact exist. This is considered to be a very important omission which should be redressed. It may very well be that when the Act was first promulgated, the legislature considered it premature to make provision for a convocation before the University had succeeded in producing any students, but at the present time the University has succeeded in conferring 535 degress and 501 diplomas over a period of 11 years. This constitutes a formidable body of persons with very real connections with the University. Pro-

vision should therefore be made forthwith for the recognition of a convocation and for the powers of a convocation similar to the powers which a convocation enjoys at a White university. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into universities under the chairmanship of Mr Justice van Wyk de Vries, at page 20, recognizes the importance of convocation in the government and structure of a modern university. That convocation is an essential ingredient of a university is clearly recognized, *inter alia*, by the University of Cape Town, (Section 9 of Act 38 of 1959), the University of Port Elizabeth (Section 11 of Act 7 of 1960), the University of the Witwatersrand, (Section 12 of Act 15 of 1959), R.A.U. (Section 12 of Act 51 of 1966), and the University of Rhodes (Section 9 of Act 15 of 1959).

(d) The importance of a convocation at a university is that it has the power to elect the most important officials in the administration of a university. In the case of the University of the North, the convocation would therefore be able to use its powers to encourage Black administration on the highest levels, if it is so minded. At the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, for example, convocation elects the Chancellor.

See: the University of Pretoria: Section 4 (1) of Act 13 of 1930;
the University of the Witwatersrand: Section 4 (1) of Act 15 of 1959.

Provision is made at most of the universities for the representation of convocation on the University Council.

Rhodes University: Section 7 (1) (c) of Act 15 of 1949;
University of the Orange Free State: Act No. 21 of 1949;
Potchefstroom University: Section 7 (1) (b) of Act No. 19 of 1950.

In all cases convocation has the power to discuss matters affecting the University, and the power to make recommendations to the Council.

See, for example:

Section 12 (4) of Act No. 15 of 1959, which deals with the University of the Witwatersrand.

(e) In terms of Section 7 (1) of the University of the North Act, the Rector is appointed by the Minister of Bantu Education after he has consulted with the Council. This also gives to the State a power not usually available at the White universities, where the Rector is usually elected or appointed by the University itself.

Section 7 of Act No. 15 of 1959 (Witwatersrand);
Section 6 of Act No. 21 of 1949 (Orange Free State);
Section 6 of Act No. 19 of 1950 (Potchefstroom);
Section 7 of Act No. 19 of 1959 (Unisa);
Section 6 of Act No. 38 of 1959 (Cape Town).

It is submitted that it is undesirable for the Rector to be elected by the Minister. In the first place, this might lead to a situation where the appointee is not approved by the Council. Secondly, it derogates from the autonomy of the University and might in certain circumstances give a political character to the appointment which could be as objectionable as the election of judges in the United States, which is said to be often associated with political influences.

(f) Undoubtedly the most important body at a university is the Council. Most of the statutes of the other universities are at pains to ensure that the Council is constituted by the widest spectrum of society, reflecting all the groups interested in or connected with the university. The University of the Orange Free State, for instance, provides for four members of convocation, three members of the Senate, a person from the City Council of Bloemfontein, a person selected by the donors, two persons appointed by the N.G. Kerk, a person appointed by the Teachers' Association of the Orange Free State, another person appointed by the Helpmekaar of the Orange Free State, an appointee of the Vrouevereniging, three persons appointed by the Provincial Council of the Free State, and not more than four persons appointed by other bodies not expressly referred to in any of the other sub-sections. In varying degrees, the anxiety of the legislature to ensure a wide representation on the Council appears also from the statutes of the other universities.

See: Section 7 of Act 15 of 1949 (Rhodes);
Section 7 of Act 19 of 1950 (Potchefstroom);
Section 9 of Act 15 of 1959 (Witwatersrand);
Section 8 of Act 19 of 1959 (Unisa);
Section 7 of Act 38 of 1959 (Cape Town);
Section 8 of Act 7 of 1960 (Natal);
Section 9 of Act 1 of 1964 (Port Elizabeth);
Section 9 of Act 85 of 1966 (RAU).

In the case of the University of the North, it is perhaps even

more important to ensure a wide spectrum of representation where several homeland governments are involved, a large contingent of students is drawn from the urban areas, and where it is said that the University must be more orientated towards the development of the community. The statute however fails to provide any such machinery. Section 3 (1) of the University of the North Act merely provides that the Council shall be constituted by the Rector, not less than eight persons appointed by the State President and two members elected by the Senate. It is of course correct that the State President in making his appointments, can take account of the different groups, but this is not the same thing as conferring upon each of these groups the legal right to elect their own representatives. The homelands governments, the urban areas, Councils of the large municipalities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria, the various teachers' associations and teacher-training colleges, donors and graduates are all groups which should have a right of representation in the University Council. Such a Council would then more accurately portray the aspirations of the community which the University serves, and be less amenable to the impression that it is controlled by the State, which is given by the power of making appointments conferred upon the State President. This particular reform must be considered in the context of the Africanization of the University.

(g) Section 10 (1) (c) of the University of the North Act provides that the Senate shall include only such professors and senior lecturers of the University as the Council may from time to time designate for that purpose. This necessarily implies that no professor has any automatic right to be a member of the Senate, a restriction which does not appear in the other comparable statutes.

See, for example:

Section 8 of Act 13 of 1930 (Pretoria).
Section 8 (1) (c) of Act 15 of 1949 (Rhodes).

(h) The University of the North Act also has other far-reaching powers which are vested in the Minister of Bantu Education, which do not appear from the statutes governing the White universities. Thus, Section 10 (2) (e), which gives power to the Council to appoint members of the Senate, makes this subject

to the Minister's approval, and further vests power in the Minister to determine the number of persons who would constitute the Senate. Section 14 provides that the staff appointments of the Council must be approved by the Minister, and Section 15 similarly provides that the Council's powers to determine the conditions of service of staff members must receive Ministerial approval. In similar vein, Section 18 (2) provides power to the Minister to request the Council to act if he thinks that a particular staff member has committed an offence, and Section 18 (3) empowers him to direct the Council to take any action. Upon such direction the Council "shall thereupon take such action". Section 26 similarly empowers the Minister to determine the University fees payable by the students, and Section 30, which deals with examinations and other tests of the University, makes the University's discretion with regard to the use of external examiners and moderators operative only as long as the Minister has not otherwise determined.

All this control in the hands of the Minister is alien to the autonomous powers of a free university, and contrasts sharply with the corresponding provisions of application in the statutes dealing with the powers of the White universities. Section 9 (8) of Act 51 of 1966 (R.A.U.), for example, provides that it is the Council which shall administer the property of the University, and have control of the University and its affairs and activities, subject to the provisions of the Act. Similar provisions appear in:

Section 9 (7) of Act 8 of 1964 (Port Elizabeth);
Section 8 (6) of Act 7 of 1960 (Natal);
Section 8 (7) of Act 62 of 1969 (Unisa);
Section 7 (7) of Act 21 of 1949 (O.F.S.).

The control over academic matters at the White universities generally vests in the Senate, and is subject only to the powers of the Council as the supreme legislative body of the University. See: Section 8 (2) of Act 21 of 1949 (O.F.S.);
Section 8 (3) of Act 19 of 1950 (Potchefstroom);
Section 10 (2) of Act 15 of 1959 (Witwatersrand);
Section 9 (3) of Act 19 of 1959 (Unisa);
Section 8 (3) of Act 38 of 1959 (Cape Town).

Similarly, any matters relating to discipline, conferment of

degrees, the conduct of examinations, fees, the employment of staff and the determination of conditions of service, are all vested within the ambit of the Council and the Senate at the White universities, without any power of interference by the Minister. The only exceptions concern a right of appeal to the Minister where there has been a dismissal of a staff member, Ministerial consent where new departments or faculties are sought to be established and the restriction on the right of admission of non-White students without Ministerial permission, which was introduced by Section 13 (5) of the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959.

From all the aforegoing, it appears that there is very substantial room for an increase in the autonomy of the University of the North, based on the statutes and provisions of application to the White universities.

(i) It is not intended to suggest that the University of the North has been selected for special discrimination among all the Black universities. Most of the restrictions concerned appear substantially in the case of the statutes dealing with the University of Fort Hare and the University of Zululand, but not in the statutes dealing with the White universities.

(j) Attention is drawn to the fact that the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which is easily accessible to Black students in South Africa, enjoys a substantial measure of autonomy, comparable with that enjoyed by the White universities. This appears from the calendar of that university in respect of the year 1973/74, on page V, sections 9 and 10. The fact that that university enjoys such autonomy, and the Black universities within South Africa do not, might detract from the attraction of the latter in the eyes of potential students, and generally diminish the status and dignity of the South African Black universities among the international community of free universities. It is submitted that there is no ground of public policy or otherwise which requires the perpetuation of such restrictions.

40. Ad Paragraph 7.1 of the Questionnaire

Section 7 deals with the Future Management of Black Universities.

7.1 Should the Universities for Blacks, where possible, be handed over to a Black homeland government(s):

OU

(a)	immediately?	
(b)	in the near future?	X
	Please specify the time	1976
(c)	in the distant future?	
	Please specify the time	
(d)	Never?	

It is submitted that the control of the University by Blacks is practicable and necessary almost forthwith. 1976 has been suggested merely because it is appreciated that the passing of control during the middle of a year might be administratively inconvenient. It is suggested that the control of the University by Blacks follows logically from the policy of the State with regard to the homelands. It has never been suggested that a university constitutes an exception to the field of activities which Blacks are legitimately entitled to control. Indeed, control of education could well be justified as a preparatory stage which should precede and not follow the extension of political independence. It must also be borne in mind that the "handing over" of a university to a Black government does not imply that the homeland government should have any greater control over the university than the South African government itself has over the White universities in the area under the jurisdiction of the Republican government. What it would involve is the residual influence flowing from its right and duty to be of financial assistance to the university, the right and duty vesting in a government over the university in terms of the University Act of 1955, and the right and duty to ensure that the university and its staff and students are protected by and obey the general laws of the country of application to the territory for the maintenance of peace and good order.

41. Ad Paragraph 7.2 of the Questionnaire

If you are of the opinion that the University should be handed over, to which government(s)? Please give your reasons.

It would appear that the physical territory of land on which the University of the North is situated forms portion of the released area in terms of Section 18 of Act No. 18 of 1936, which constitutes the legal foundation for the areas of land to be administered and governed by homeland governments. It has been announced that the acquisition of all land which constitutes part of such release areas, will be completed during 1975. It would further appear that the area concerned would then come to constitute part of the territory administered by the government of Lebowa. The Black sector of the

university is satisfied that the Chief Minister of Lebowa will be able to ensure the efficient administration of the university in the same manner and to the same extent as the South African government would do in respect of a White university. It has been suggested however that because the university in regard to its actual position does not only serve the Black community of Lebowa but also other Black communities forming part of other homeland governments, that more than one homeland government should have a say in regard to its administration. The question as to whether this is constitutionally feasible, or whether expression of the rationale behind such a move might have to be given in some other way, for example by ensuring adequate representation on the Council by members of such other affected governments, is one which the Black sector of the University does not consider to be of crucial importance. The Black students and the Black staff of the University would be satisfied as long as the administration does become vested in Black persons.

42. Ad Paragraph 7.3 of the Questionnaire

At present the Senate is composed of

(a) professors

(b) those senior lecturers who are also heads of departments.

Are you satisfied with this state of affairs?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If not, why not, and how should, in your opinion, the Senate be composed?

If it is proposed that the University comes to be administered by Black persons, there is nothing wrong with the present formula for the composition of the Senate. If on the other hand, the administration is going to remain overwhelmingly White and there is the conflict of interests and approaches between the White academic staff and the Black academic staff, it might be necessary to ensure that the interests of the Black academic staff are properly represented in the Senate, because the majority of the present Professors and Heads of Departments are in fact White.

43. Ad Paragraph 7.4 of the Questionnaire

At present all the members of the Council are appointed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Are you satisfied with the present state of affairs?

Yes [ ] No [X]

If not, why not, and suggest alternative ways of constituting the Council.

It has already been explained previously that the present constitution of the Council is not regarded as satisfactory, because there is no provision for representation by a wide spectrum of society, and various suggestions have already been made as to other persons who should be allowed representation on the Council (e.g., the different homeland governments, urban African Councils, teachers' organizations, parents' associations, women's organizations, teacher-training colleges, donors and graduates).

44. Ad Paragraph 7.5 of the Questionnaire

Should the S.R.C. be abolished or retained?

Abolished		Retained	X

Please motivate your answer.

Clearly, a university cannot function effectively without proper liaison between the students and the administration. Equally clearly, such liaison cannot be with the total majority of students but only with a representative body, and the S.R.C. is therefore essential. The abolition of the S.R.C. on the grounds that difficulties have been experienced between a particular S.R.C. and the University administration, assumes that if the S.R.C. is abolished, the relationship between the students and the administration will automatically become effective. This is erroneous. The relationship will be ineffective and disharmonious as long as the causes which have given rise to the estrangement remain uncured. These causes have been dealt with previously, and if a serious attempt is made to redress these causes, the liaison will improve correspondingly. An abolition of the S.R.C. can only help to snap a vital link of communication and to remove a sensitive and easily accessible barometer of student opinion, and to encourage unplanned and clandestine organizations.

45. Ad Paragraph 7.6 of the Questionnaire

What should in your opinion be the academic qualifications and other requirements (if any) for the appointment of persons in the following posts at your University?

Please give reasons, where possible.

Chancellor: Acceptability *, Extensive experience in public life and special experience in some field of education.

Rector: Acceptability *, substantial academic experience, some academic status and evidence of a capacity for administration.

Professor: Academic status normally equivalent to a doctorate, some evidence of serious scholarship, and acceptability *

Senior lecturer: A senior academic qualification usually equivalent to a master's degree, evidence of maturing scholarship, and acceptability •

Lecturer: Academic achievement normally equivalent to a good honours degree, acceptability • and some evidence of academic ambition.

Junior lecturer: A reasonable degree of acceptability • and an academic qualification not less than a bachelor's degree with a high percentage pass.

Registrar: A substantial measure of acceptability • a bachelor's degree, some previous association with a university other than in the capacity of a student, and evidence of a capacity for administration.

Assistant Registrar: Reasonable evidence of acceptability •, an academic qualification usually not less than a bachelor's degree and evidence of a potential for administrative work.

• As defined in our reply below.

In regard to all the positions which are referred to in Paragraph 7.6, the general approach must obviously be to seek to appoint persons on merit. It is very important however to bear in mind that merit, particularly in the context of the present situation, is not confined to academic training or academic experience only. A very important constituent element in the concept of merit is acceptability. By acceptability is meant the capacity, the talent and the status to enjoy the confidence and respect of the community which is to be served, a personality able to impart learning effectively, the capacity to stimulate student response and curiosity vigorously, and, more generally, the image which enables the appointee to be regarded as a friend and a member of the community he serves. Sometimes, owing to personality traits, sometimes owing to attitudes towards other people and sometimes because of his own beliefs, a person with impressive academic qualifications is sadly lacking in this somewhat crucial quality of acceptability, as herein defined. It will readily be appreciated that in the context of the present problem, a Black person might often have this very important quality of acceptability, which must weigh heavily in the scales which have to be balanced in making a particular appointment. For these reasons, it is possible to be able to find Black persons who would be able to fill even some of the more senior positions referred to in Paragraph 7.6 of the Questionnaire. At present the only administrative position referred to in Paragraph 7.6 of the Questionnaire held by a Black man is the position of Assistant Registrar.

46. Ad Paragraph 7.7 of the Questionnaire

Should the Africanization of the academic and administrative staff be speeded up?

Yes [X] No [ ]

Please elaborate.

The analysis previously made of various departments discloses that the Africanization of the academic staff has been far too slow. If more regard is had to the importance of the quality of "acceptability" as defined in the preceding paragraph, and if discriminatory policies such as the unstated rule that a White cannot normally work under a Black person, are abandoned, it should be possible to escalate the Africanization process to a very significant extent. As far as the administrative staff is concerned, no serious attempt has ever been made to Africanize the hierarchy of the administration. The highest position to which a Black man has risen in the administration, is to the position of Assistant Registrar. It is considered that there can be no difficulty in finding suitable Black persons to act as Registrar, and indeed to act as Rectors or Chancellors. Black men with high academic qualifications, impressive academic records and a very high degree of general acceptability, exist to fill the position of Rector. The ranks of such persons include Black persons of considerable academic distinction, who have chosen an academic life outside this country. It is also submitted that the Black community has in its midst persons with outstanding records of contributions to public life, extensive educational experience and a status and acceptability among the Black community which will be almost impossible to match from among the ranks of people outside the Black community. The appointment of a Black Rector would not be unprecedented, because a Coloured person has been appointed as a Rector at the University of the Western Cape, and as far back as 1972 the Committee of Inquiry into student unrest at the University of the North seems to have considered the possibility of the appointment of a Black person as Chancellor. (See report, page 38). The same commission also recommended that guide-lines should be prepared to ensure an adequate representation of Blacks at the University (paragraph 16.4.3, page 42), and expressly drew attention to the fact that the attitude of the administrative staff was resented by the majority of students and the Black staff, and that attention should be given to deal with this matter (16.5.2, page 43; 16.5.6, page 44). It is submitted that very few of the very carefully considered recommendations of the 1972 commission have been put into proper operation, and that neither the University nor the community can afford to take further

risks in the break-down of the administration of the University, by delaying the reforms suggested. The appointment of a Black Chancellor, a Black Rector and a Black Registrar will symbolically give to the University a visible and demonstratively Black character which might act as an important catalyst to harness the creative energies of its Black staff and students.

47. Ad Paragraph 7.8 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that there are at present sufficient numbers of competent Black academics to man all the University posts?

Yes		No	X (probably)

A completely accurate answer to the question posed in Paragraph 7.8 would involve an analysis of the total number of positions available at all the Black universities; the correlation of such positions with the available Black graduates; ascertaining from the existing Black graduates in occupations outside the University whether they can be persuaded to return to an academic life in circumstances where radical reforms have been carried out at the Black universities; an analysis of Black graduates from South Africa who are at universities outside South Africa and the prospects of persuading them to return to South Africa; a similar investigation of Black academics with competent qualifications, abroad in private employment who might be persuaded to return to an academic life; and finally, an analysis of Black graduates from other countries who might be interested in an academic career at a Black university. It is submitted that in principle there can be no objection to the last category of persons, because the principle of appointing academic staff from abroad forms part of the traditions of the older-established universities in South Africa. Indeed, in the early history of the South African universities the majority of the academic staff might well have been recruited from the ranks of persons abroad.

Because of the complexity of the analysis which will have to be made to determine whether a sufficient number of Black academics may be found to man all the University posts, the answer which has been given to the question in Paragraph 7.8 of the Questionnaire has been qualified. It appears that there are probably not enough academics to man all the University posts, but this impression might be proved to be unreliable, on a proper analysis and investigation. In any event, what is clear is that there are a far greater number of Black

academics available to man the University posts than the numbers which have been appointed, and in any event the submission is not that it is vital for each and every University post to be manned by a Black person. Indeed, a University controlled by Black persons in the proper exercise of its autonomy and sovereignty, will also seek academics of merit to man particular posts among the ranks of persons who are not Black. The objection is not to individual White lecturers appointed on the basis of academic distinction, which would include acceptability as previously defined. The objection is to an institutionalized domination and discrimination by Whites. It is for this reason that to the question in Paragraph 7.9 it is conceded that the academic staff should consist of White and Black lecturers.

7.9 If the University is handed over to a Black homeland government, who, in your opinion, should be appointed as academic staff members?

Black lecturers only	
White and Black lecturers	X
White and Black lecturers only when there are insufficient Black academics available	

48. Ad Paragraph 7.10 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that it is preferable that the management of the University should be wholly or partly in the hands of Blacks?

Wholly ☐
Partly ☐

Please motivate your answer

The approach favoured by BASA with regard to the management of the University is the same approach referred to above with regard to the manning of academic posts generally, and control of the University. The sovereignty in the management of the University should vest in the Black people. However, an ingredient of such sovereignty is that the Black people should have the right to appoint persons from outside the Black community to individual positions in the management, if they so liked. To insist that only Blacks should be allowed to be appointed to the University would indeed limit and constrict the sovereignty and autonomy of the Black people and not extend it. It is perfectly conceivable that Black people might consider it wise and expedient to select individual Whites, Indians or Coloureds to particular positions in the management of the University at a particular time, if this is considered to be in the best interest of the University.

49. **Ad Paragraph 7.11 of the Questionnaire**

If you are of the opinion that the situation is unsatisfactory, what would you suggest

In the comments on the question contained in Paragraph 7.6 it has been clearly indicated what sort of approach and what standards should be adopted in the appointment, *inter alia*, of a Chancellor, a Rector and a Registrar. It is submitted that such an approach has not always properly been applied in the past; for example, the very important question of acceptability as defined previously, has largely been overlooked in the previous appointments. An approach on the basis set out in Paragraph 7.6 and an application of the standards therein referred to would yield some very exciting and promising prospects for the appointments referred to. This should be done with some speed in order to ensure effective relations between the different strata of the University.

50. **Ad Paragraph 7.12 of the Questionnaire**

How would you evaluate the academic standard of your University?

Very high	
High	
Average	\
Low	
Very low	

From the comparison previously made of the results between some of the courses offered at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of the North, from impressions generally formed and from other relevant facts, it would seem that the academic standard of the University is average. In some courses it would appear to be higher than the average, and in other courses somewhat lower. From an analysis of the 1973 degree examinations at the University which is reproduced hereunder, there appears to be statistical support for the impression that the results must be considered to be approximately average. In evaluating the statistics it must not be overlooked that uniformity of standards between universities is ensured by the system of appointing external examiners from other universities. The results thus obtained at the University of the North must be considered to be authentic reflections of what is considered to be an objective standard, of application within the community as a whole.

ANALYSIS OF 1973 DEGREE EXAMINATIONS

I. Pass According to Number of Students

Number of students	No. of Students who passed
1st year : 626	336 : 54%
2nd year : 244	183 : 75%
3rd year : 154	132 : 86%

II. (a) Pass According to Number of Student Courses. (Oct. Nov. 1973)

Number of courses	Number of courses passed
1st year : 2875	1958 : 68%
2nd year : 623	506 : 81%
3rd year : 279	237 : 85%
4th year : 3	2 : 67%
5th year : 1	1 : 100%

(b) Pass According to Number of Student Courses. (Supplementary — February 1974).

Number of courses	Number of courses passed
1st year : 187	100 : 54%
2nd year : 36	20 : 55%
3rd year : 17	14 : 82%

(c) Pass According to Number of Student Courses (Aegrotat — February 1974)

Number of courses	Number of courses passed
1st year : 7	7 : 100%
2nd year : 1	1 : 100%
3rd year : 3	3 : 100%

III. Number of Students who Passed all Courses

1st year : 135
2nd year : 117
3rd Year : 87

IV. Number of Students who Fail only one Course

1st year : 88
2nd year : 12
3rd year : 7

It is not intended to suggest that because the standard achieved at the University is about average, there is no room for or need for further improvement. Indeed, it has been previously submitted that the abundance and variety of facilities provided at the older universities, and the amount of finance available to these universities, might give students of these universities some advantage. If the quality and variety of the facilities at the University is extended, the results achieved might in fact be higher than the average, possibly because in most cases a more intense motivation would inspire a Black student, who can seldom afford to fail a year, regard being had to his economic circumstances.

51. Ad Paragraph 7.13 of the Questionnaire

If you are of the opinion that the standard is *below the average (in comparison with the standards of other Universities), what, in your opinion, is the most important reason for this state of affairs?*

It is not suggested that the general standard is below the average, and this question strictly falls away. It might nevertheless be pertinent to make the observation that the standard at the University could perhaps be increased if:

(a) the quality of the facilities and the finance available is intensified;

(b) the more general reforms pertaining to Africanization bring about a less dissatisfied student community;

(c) the methods of teaching in some cases are changed from mechanical note-dictation to lively academic debate and research.

Question 7.14 asked for reasons if it was thought that the standard was above average.

52. Ad Paragraph 7.15 of the Questionnaire

Would you agree that, with a view to maintaining a high standard at your University, the number of students should be limited?

Yes [ ] No [X]

It has previously been submitted that the correct approach in maintaining a high standard at the University is not to limit the number of students, but to ensure that the standard which is considered sufficient to entitle a student to exemption from the joint Matriculation Board examinations, is a standard which is in fact sufficient to maintain a reasonably high standard at the University. A

departure from this is difficult to justify in principle, and might in fact be unfair.

53. Ad Paragraph 7.16 of the Questionnaire

The statement is very often made that some syllabi are not relevant to the situation of the Black man. If it is for instance possible to adjust the courses of some of the social sciences in accordance with the wishes of such objectors, would you say that the standard would be acceptable at the Universities for Whites where a Black student after having obtained his degree at his University, would like to follow a post-graduate course?

The approach that there should be any fundamental difference between the syllabi at a Black university and those of any other university is strongly rejected. It is submitted that the international community of universities attempts to correlate and abstract the universal experience of all mankind and to project, anticipate and guide the achievement of its aspirations. There can therefore be no fundamental difference in the content and the evaluation of the disciplines which are concerned with this process.

Entirely consistent with this universalistic approach to academic standards would be the encouragement to a particular university to give some special attention to some aspect in the human experience which it might be in a more favourable position to deal with. In the field of medicine, tropical diseases are dealt with more intensively at certain universities in countries where such diseases are a major problem, but this does not derogate from the basic approach of that university to the science of medicine. Similarly, it might be perfectly proper and correct for a Black university in South Africa to pay special attention to certain matters of more direct concern to the African environment. A Department of Literary or Linguistic Studies could properly pay greater attention to the contribution of African languages to the evolution of international literature, a Department of Social Anthropology might profitably be able to throw more light on the evolution and destruction of certain ancient African civilizations, a Department of Physical Anthropology might have all mankind in its debt byconcentrating on the significance of some recent African discoveries which seem to suggest that the *Homo sapiens* originated in this continent, and a Department of History might definitely help to eliminate some very dark areas in man's knowledge of the history of Africa. This type of special emphasis would occur within the universally accepted principles as to how a particular discipline is approached. As long as this is done, the Black

student who has had the benefit of such an education would not only find his degree acceptable at a university for Whites, but might himself be considered as particularly suitable material for post-graduate research at such universities.

54. Ad Paragraph 7.17 of the Questionnaire

It is very often alleged that the Black lecturers are more lenient in allocating marks in tests and examinations. Do you agree?

Yes, some are inclined to be more lenient	
No, I do not agree	X
Possibly, I am not sure	

Please refer to factual situations to corroborate your answer? (if possible)

The fact that the University of the North, like all other universities, has a carefully administered system of external examiners, and the further fact that the external examiners would in almost all cases be White persons from the White universities, clearly negates any suggestion that the Black lecturers show any leniency in the allocation of marks. It is submitted that this is the logical and objective way of looking at this question, but attention is drawn to the following:-

(a) The suggestion that Black lecturers are lenient in allocating marks seems first to have been articulated at a meeting in the Faculty of Education by Professor Eloff, who was the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He stated that it appeared to him that the marks allocated in respect of the History of Education course, were too high. Professor Lekhela, who was the Head of the Department of the History of Education, resented this assertion because it was being made not by a member of the Faculty of Education with any special experience in the matter, but by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, whose own training was in Mathematics. Professor Lekhela then wrote a letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Education, drawing attention to this. The Dean of the Faculty of Education at no stage supported the suggestion that the Black staff were too lenient in allocating marks, and Professor Lekhela was accordingly vindicated by his own Department and by the external examiners when the marks were subsequently corroborated in later years.

(b) There are of course disciplines where marking can never be an exact science, and where subjective approaches might differ.

This however has nothing to do with race, and Mr. G.M. Nkondo, an African, for example, has been told by one of his White colleagues (a Mr. Eccles) that his marking was a bit too strict.

(c) It is submitted that the real solution to any errors arising from individual approaches is properly to be found in the system of external examiners and moderators, and nothing is achieved by giving a racial flair to the matter.

55. Ad 7.18 of the Questionnaire

It is very often alleged that the White lecturers are very strict when marking examination and test papers. Do you agree?

Yes, some are inclined to be too strict	
No, I do not agree	
Possibly, I am not sure	

Is it possible to refer to any factual situation to corroborate your answer?

The members of BASA do not have any personal experience to confirm or to contradict the assertion that White lecturers are very strict in marking examination papers, but this allegation has been made by students in respect of particular Departments such as Chemistry and Zoology. The results achieved in these Departments do appear to be below par in some years.

56. Ad Paragraph 7.19 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that there are sufficient and adequate recreational facilities for students on the campus?

Yes		No	X

If not, in which respects do the facilities fall short?

(1) It is respectfully submitted that the facilities for students on the campus have been the cause of considerable student dissatisfaction.

(a) The students do not have a cafeteria. This is almost a universal characteristic of any university anywhere, and such a facility would provide a useful institution for the evolution of student fellowship, discussion and academic disputation.

(b) There is only one soccer sports field for a student body consisting of some 1500 persons. It is unturfed, and there is no protection for spectators against the rain or any shade.

(c) There is no drama hall where suitable playscan be staged. This is also considered to be essential to give expression to student

imagination and to give substance and meaning to many of the language and literature courses.

(d) There is no gymnasium to satisfy the aspirations of the many athletic young men on the campus.

(e) The tuckshop on the campus is considered to be far too small and drab by all the students.

(f) There is no swimming pool at all. The temperature at Sovenga during the summer is very high indeed.

(g) There are a number of petty irritants which unnecessarily excite the students' feelings of dissatisfaction.

(aa) They complain that the police are far too active on the campus. It is conceded that where there are breaches of the peace the presence of the police is justifiable, but with regard to abstract ideological disagreements and internal self-criticism, the students should feel free to pursue their different ideas and debates without an ominous police presence, whether actual or threatened. In the minds of the students the administration often comes to be identified with the police.

(bb) The students are restricted from making any statements to the Press, although the affairs of the University and the views of the administration about some of the students often get widespread Press publicity.

(cc) The approach to punishment where there have been acts of misconduct are considered to be too rigid and unimaginative. Often the alternatives are simply suspension or expulsion. It is considered that there is a far greater variety of infinite shades of disapproval which could be more effective and which would discourage unnecessary tension and confrontation.

(2) The question merely refers to the lack of facilities for students. It should not be overlooked that the Black lecturers also have no cafeteria, no clubhouse, no swimming pool, no flood-lit tennis courts, no tarred roads in the area where they reside, no pub, and very inferior housing.

57. Ad Paragraph 8.1 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the belief in ancestral spirits, witchcraft, etc. has any influence on the conduct of the students at your University?

Yes [ ] No [X]

Any other comments?

BASA does not believe that the question of belief in ancestral spirits or witchcraft plays any relevant role in the life of the students. The belief by some White lecturers that this does play a relevant role does, however, sometimes become relevant. During the unrest in September, 1974 it was reported that the Public Relations Officer of the University had consulted a witchdoctor in order to obtain his prognosis as to how the students' "sit-ins" were likely to end.

58. Ad Paragraph 8.2 of the Questionnaire

Would you agree that an inferiority complex with the Black man and the paternalistic attitudes of the White man are the basis of bad relations at your University?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please motivate your answer.

The word "basis" suggests that this is the ground on which everything else is based. Elsewhere in this Memorandum it has been submitted that there are a number of reasons for bad relations at the University, and the paternalistic attitude of the Whites is most certainly one of the important grounds. This attitude is institutionalized by the visible differentiation in the conditions of White and Black on the campus. The paternalistic attitudes of some White persons on the campus would not survive so vigorously if they did not find support and corroboration in the objective institutionalized discrimination on the campus itself, and it is for this reason that the appointment of Black persons to positions of authority such as the Rectorship would help not only the dignity of the Black man on the campus, but the education of those Whites who have an almost inherited traditional paternalism.

59. Ad Paragraph 8.3 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that there is a lack of confidence between the different Black race groups at your University?

Yes [ ] No [X]

Please motivate your answer.

If there is a lack of confidence on the campus in any particular case, it

would be between individuals and not between ethnic groups among the Black people. Two important objective facts corroborate the absence of any adverse feeling based on ethnic grounds. In the first place, the majority of the students at the University are not drawn from areas with a homogeneous ethnic content, but from the urban areas of African settlement like Soweto, where ethnic considerations are virtually irrelevant. In the second place, the feeling of Black consciousness espoused and articulated by the students, derives a substantial degree of its strength precisely from the affirmation that all Black people are brothers and that they are all united not only by common disabilities, but common traditions, common values and a common outlook about life and society. Ethnic considerations also play no role whatever in the feelings of the Black academic staff. Indeed, in many cases there is resentment about the fact that the ethnic origins of a particular applicant are considered relevant to his appointment.

The fact that ethnic origins play a role in the admission of students and the appointments of lecturers at a Black university, has repeatedly been stated to be a source of grievance by Black academics and Black students at all the Black universities.

60. Ad Paragraph 8.4 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the cultural background of the student has an influence on his University activities?

Yes [ ] No [X]

If the answer is in the affirmative, what would you say is the nature of such influence?

It is respectfully submitted that the cultural background of the student *per se* does not have any significant effect on his university activities, nor does it distinguish him materially from students of other universities. As has previously been explained, however, the failure properly to understand his cultural background and to accord to it the respect and dignity which comes from proper understanding, does have an effect on his reactions and does in that way indirectly influence his activities. See further the notes in this Memorandum in relation to the question contained in Paragraph 8.5.

61. Ad Paragraph 8.5 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that the policy of separate development has an influence on the University activities of the Black student?

Yes [X] No [ ]

If so, what would you say is the nature thereof?

The Black students at the University are generally opposed to the policy of separate development, because they believe that whatever its theory may be, it perpetuates discrimination against them and their disabilities in the country, and fragments the Black people into different communities. This view does influence the activities of the Black student at the University, because he considers the University to be an extension of an unacceptable policy, and he regards most of the White persons at the University as the adherents of that policy. At the same time he realizes that higher education is essential to his future, and that in the absence of other alternatives he must use the opportunities provided by the University. Accordingly, if the University comes largely to be manned by Black persons, the theoretical objection to an institution created by an unacceptable policy would remain, but the resentment against persons who are mostly believed to be adherents of a policy which perpetuates discrimination against them would be defused. In practice the University would thereafter function more effectively and harmoniously.

61 (A). Ad Paragraph 8.6 of the Questionnaire

Would you say that intimidation and or incitement among students or from outside played any role in the conduct of some of the students?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

The dissatisfaction of the students at the University seems essentially indigenous. It is based on disabilities and discrimination which appear on the campus itself and on their own view as to the rights of a Black man and the role which he is entitled to play in society. No man is, however, an island in himself, and it is not suggested that the students at the University of the North are exceptions to this poetic truth. Undoubtedly they are influenced by what they read and hear of what is happening outside. This does not mean however that there is an organized body of people who come to the University to intimidate or to incite them. The reactions of the students are spontaneous reactions to conditions prevailing at the University itself and their own perception of their rights and duties.

62. Ad Paragraph 8.7 of the Questionnaire

Have you any definite points of view (not already mentioned above) in regard to:

(a) the causes that gave rise to the events at the University of the North on the 25th September, 1974?

(b) the various relationships on the campus?; and

(c) the present and future management of the University of the North?

(a) It would be a serious mistake to isolate the events of the 25th September, 1974 and attempt to examine the causes which gave rise to these events, divorced from the wider background of student dissatisfaction. As has been set out elsewhere in this Memorandum, student dissatisfaction at the University arising from discriminatory attitudes towards Black people, has more specifically found expression on the University campus itself. Meaningful and real progress in the redress of these grievances must be made, if there are to be no serious disruptions in the future. What happened on the 25th September, 1974 was only a symptomatic expression of a far deeper underlying dissatisfaction. The symptoms will reappear from time to time as long as the basic cause remains. Indeed, the rate of such reappearances might accelerate, and a break-down in the conduct and administration of the University is not inconceivable if meaningful progress is not made and is not seen to be made in the redress of what is believed to be serious and very legitimate grievances. Where the redress of basic causes might take any period of time to manifest itself meaningfully, it would be desirable to make symbolic changes forthwith to indicate the new road which the University must take. The appointment of a Black Chancellor or a Black Rector would fall within the category of a symbolic change which would clearly indicate the road to rapid Africanization and the concern of the State to ensure that the aspirations of the Black man to full dignity are being understood and respected.

(b) & (c) These matters have been fully dealt with in the answers to other questions contained in the Questionnaire and the Memorandum explaining the answers.

62.(A) Ad Paragraph 8.8 of the Questionnaire

If it may be necessary to refer to any information contained in the questionnaire in the report of the Commission, would you prefer it to be used anonymously?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If the answer is NO, why?

BASA has no strong views with regard to the publication of this information. The Commission is at liberty to make full use of the information given in this report if it so considers it expedient and wise.

BANTU EDUCATION

Ongkopotse Ramothibi Tiro

Mr O.R. Tiro, former President of the SRC, University of the North, was elected by the students to deliver the address at the graduation ceremony in April 1972. The University authorities subsequently suspended Mr Tiro and mass protests by the student body followed. The entire student body was then expelled and told to reapply for admission. Mr Tiro was refused readmission. Protests then erupted on both black and white campuses and government reaction followed. Mr Tiro was subsequently killed by a parcel bomb addressed to him in Botswana.

Mr Chancellor, Mr Vice-Chancellor and Rector, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to start off by borrowing language from our Prime Minister, Mr Vorster. Addressing ASB congress in June last year Mr Vorster said: 'No Black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his'. Although I don't know how far true this is, I make this statement my launch pad. R.D. Briensmead, an American lay preacher says: 'He who withholds the truth or debars men from motives of its expediency is either a coward, a criminal or both'. Therefore Mr Chancellor I will try as much as possible to say nothing else but the truth. And to me truth means 'practical reality'.

Addressing us on the occasion of the formal opening of this University Mr Phatudi, a Lebowa Territorial Authority officer said that in as much as there is American Education there had to be Bantu. Ladies and gentlemen I am conscientiously bound to differ with him. In America there is nothing like Negro Education, Red Indian Education, Coloured Education and European Education. We do not have a system of education common to all South Africans. What is there in European Education which is not good for the African? We want a system of education common to all South Africans.

Time and again I ask myself: How do black lecturers contribute to the administration of this University? For if you look at all the committees they are predominantly white if not completely white. Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the opinion of students are white black men. We have a students' Dean without duties. We feel that if it is in any way necessary to have a students' Dean we must elect our own Dean. We know people who can represent us.

The Advisory Council is said to be representing our parents. How can it represent them when they have not elected it? These people must of necessity please the man who appointed them. This Council consists of chiefs who have never been to University. How can they know the needs of students when they have not been subjected to the same conditions? Those who have been to

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University have never studied under Bantu Education. What authentic opinion can they express when they don't know how painful it is to study under a repugnant system of education?

I wonder if this Advisory Council knows that a Black man has been most unceremoniously kicked out of the bookshop. Apparently, this is reserved for Whites. According to the Policy, Van Schaiks has no right to run a bookshop here. A White member of the Administration has been given the meat contract to supply a University — a Black University. Those who amorphously support the policy may say that there are no Black people to supply it. My answer to them is: Why are they not able to supply the University? What is the cause? Is it not conveniently done that they are not in a position to supply these commodities?

White students are given vacation jobs at this University when there are students who could not get their results due to outstanding fees. Why does the Administration not give these jobs to these students? These White students have eleven Universities where they can get vacation jobs. Does the Administration expect me to get a vacation job at the University of Pretoria?

Right now, our parents have come all the way from their homes only to be locked outside. We are told that the hall is full. I do not accept the argument that there is no accommodation for in 1970 when the Administration wanted to accommodate everybody a tent was put up and close-circuit television was installed. Front seats are given to people who cannot ever cheer us. My father is seated there at the back. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land? — the land of our fathers.

The system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommend it strongly, as the only solution, to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of the Policy. According to the Policy we expected Dr Eiselen to decline chancellorship in favour of a Black man, dear parents, these are the injustices no normal student can tolerate — no matter who he is and where he comes from.

In the light of what has been said above the challenge to every black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa, restriction without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from and work for the eradication of the system breeding such evils. To these who whole-heartedly support the Policy of Apartheid I say: *Do you think that the white minority can willingly commit political suicide by creating numerous states which might turn out to be hostile in future?*

We black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders have become the bolts of the same machine which is crushing us as a nation. We have to back them and educate them. Times are changing and we should change with them. The magic story of human achievement gives irrefutable proof that as soon as nationalism is awakened among the intelligensia it becomes the vanguard in the struggle against alien rule. Of what use

will be your education if you can't help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.

Remember what Mrs Suzman said: 'There is one thing which the minister cannot do: He cannot ban ideas from men's minds'.

In conclusion Mr Chancellor I say: **Let the Lord be praised, for the day shall come, when all men shall be free to breathe the air of freedom and when that day shall come, no man, no matter how many tanks he has, will reverse the course of events. God Bless you all!**

Gessler Nkondo, editor of Turfloop Testimony and chairman of the Black Academic Staff Association of the University of the North. BASA's views on the present and future position of Black Universities in South Africa are given in this book, to which Mr Nkondo also contributes an historical overview.

Some other recent Ravan titles

Western Coloured Township: problems of an urban slum: Marianne Brindley	R4,20
Encounter with Age: or how to avoid a nervous breakdown while growing old: Dr Archie Borowitz & Hilary Semple	R2,40
Religious Beliefs & White Prejudice: R. Buis	R2,40
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The World of Nat Nakasa: edited by Essop Patel, introduction by Nadine Gordimer	R5,25

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